OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

PART II

ROBINSON AND BEARD

ROBERT MANNING
STROZIER LIBRARY

Tallahassee

OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

PART II

FROM THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

AND

CHARLES A. BEARD

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF POLITICS IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

GINN AND COMPANY

BOSTON · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · LONDON
ATLANTA · DALLAS · COLUMBUS · SAN FRANCISCO

D
103
R67
pt. 2

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL

COPYRIGHT, 1907, 1912, BY
JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON AND CHARLES A. BEARD

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

515·3

ROBERT MANNING
STROZIER LIBRARY

OCT 20 1989

Tallahassee, Florida

The Athenæum Press
GINN AND COMPANY · PROPRIETORS · BOSTON · U.S.A.

PREFACE

This volume is the second part of an outline history of Europe from the earliest times to our own day. The general survey, the first portion of which will appear shortly, is prepared in the belief that the regular historical course in the high schools may be wisely reduced from four to three years in order that more attention may be given to economics, civics, and kindred subjects.

The present volume is, in the main, a condensation and revision of the authors' larger work, *The Development of Modern Europe*, which has been brought down to date by a review of the last decade of European politics.

The purpose of the manual is to narrate the history of the past in such a fashion as to help make plain the events and problems of our world. As stated in the preface to the older work, it has been the authors' ever-conscious aim to enable the reader to catch up with his own times; to read intelligently the morning paper; to know about the workings of the English cabinet even if he has forgotten about the composition of the Model Parliament.

Fortunately the tendency to emphasize modern history has now so far advanced that it is not necessary to explain why we have devoted nearly one half the space at our disposal to the momentous eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

We are indebted to Professor C. H. Hayes for reading a portion of the proofs dealing with the most recent events.

J. H. R.
C. A. B.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK

CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. The Old Régime in Europe

1. Life in the Country — Serfdom 2
2. The Towns and the Guilds 4
3. The Nobility and the Monarchy 8
4. The Catholic Church 12
5. The English Established Church and the Protestant Sects 15

II. The Spirit of Reform

6. The Development of Modern Science 21
7. How the Scientific Discoveries produced a Spirit of Reform 25
8. Reforms of Frederick II, Catharine II, and Joseph II . 39
9. Peculiarities of the English Government in the Eighteenth Century 45

III. Russia and Prussia become European Powers

10. Peter the Great plans to make Russia a European Power 53
11. Rise of Prussia 58
12. The Wars of Frederick the Great 62
13. Three Partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, and 1795 . . 66

IV. The Struggle between France and England in India and North America

14. How Europe began to extend its Commerce over the Whole World 72
15. The Contest between France and England for Colonial Empire 74
16. Revolt of the American Colonies from England . . 79

V. The Eve of the French Revolution

17. The *Ancien Régime* in France 87
18. How Louis XVI tried to play the Benevolent Despot . 101

CHAPTER PAGE

VI. The French Revolution

19. How the Estates General were summoned in 1789 . 108
20. First Reforms of the National Assembly, July–October, 1789 117
21. The National Assembly in Paris, October, 1789, to September, 1791 124

VII. The First French Republic

22. The Abolition of the Monarchy, 1791–1792 . . 133
23. The Reign of Terror 148

VIII. Napoleon Bonaparte

24. Bonaparte's First Italian Campaign 168
25. How Bonaparte made himself Master of France . 177
26. The Second Coalition against France 182

IX. Europe and Napoleon

27. Bonaparte restores Order and Prosperity in France . 193
28. Napoleon destroys the Holy Roman Empire and reorganizes Germany 199
29. The Continental Blockade 207
30. Napoleon at the Zenith of his Power (1808–1812) . 210
31. The Fall of Napoleon 217

X. The Reconstruction of Europe at the Congress of Vienna

32. The Congress of Vienna and its Work . . . 227
33. The Holy Alliance: Metternich becomes the Chief Opponent of Revolution 236

XI. Europe after the Congress of Vienna

34. The Restoration in France and the Revolution of 1830 241
35. Establishment of the Kingdom of Belgium . . . 247
36. Formation of the German Confederation . . . 249
37. Restoration in Spain and Italy 253
38. The Spanish-American Colonies and the Revolution of 1820 255

XII. The Industrial Revolution

39. Invention of Machinery for Spinning and Weaving . 261
40. The Steam Engine 264
41. Capitalism and the Factory System 267
42. The Rise of Socialism 275

CHAPTER PAGE

XIII. Revolution of 1848 in France

43. Unpopularity of Louis Philippe's Government . . 283
44. The Second French Republic 286
45. Louis Napoleon and the Second French Empire . 292

XIV. Revolution of 1848, — Austria, Germany, Italy

46. The Fall of Metternich 296
47. Failure of the Revolution in Bohemia and Hungary 302
48. Austria regains her Power in Italy 305
49. Outcome of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany . 307

XV. The Unification of Italy

50. Cavour and Italian Unity 311
51. The Kingdom of Italy since 1861 316

XVI. Formation of the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Union

52. Prussia assumes the Leadership in Germany . . 323
53. War of 1866 and the Formation of the North German Federation 327
54. The Franco-Prussian War and the Foundation of the German Empire 330
55. Austria-Hungary since 1866 334

XVII. The German Empire

56. The German Constitution 340
57. Bismarck and State Socialism 344
58. Germany's Policy of Protection and Colonization . 348
59. Reign of William II 350

XVIII. France under the Third Republic

60. Establishment of the Third French Republic . . 356
61. The Third French Republic since 1875: the Dreyfus Affair 364
62. The Separation of Church and State 368
63. Political Parties in France 374
64. Expansion of France 376

XIX. Political and Social Reforms in England

65. Parliamentary Reform 381
66. The English Cabinet 390
67. Social Reforms 394
68. Free Trade 402
69. The Irish Question 405

CHAPTER PAGE

XX. The British Empire in the Nineteenth Century

70. The Extension of British Dominion in India . . 412
71. The Dominion of Canada 418
72. The Australasian Colonies 421
73. Growth of the British Empire in Africa . . . 425

XXI. The Russian Empire in the Nineteenth Century

74. The Reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I . . 432
75. The Freeing of the Serfs and the Growth of the Spirit of Revolution 436
76. The Industrial Revolution in Russia . . . 441
77. The Struggle for Liberty under Nicholas II . . 443

XXII. Turkey and the Eastern Question

78. The Greek War of Independence 454
79. The Crimean War 457
80. Revolts in the Balkan Peninsula 459
81. The Independent Balkan States 462

XXIII. The Expansion of Europe in the Nineteenth Century

82. The Growth of International Trade and Competition: Imperialism 466
83. Relations of Europe with China 476
84. How Japan became a World Power 478
85. War between Japan and China and its Results . 482
86. The Boxer Rising. The Russo-Japanese War . . 484
87. Occupation of Africa by the European Powers . 491
88. Influences favoring Universal Peace . . . 501

XXIV. The Last Decade of European Politics

89. Political Reforms 506
90. Recent Social Legislation 522
91. International Affairs 530

APPENDIX I

List of Rulers 535

APPENDIX II

List of Books 541

INDEX 547

LIST OF COLORED MAPS

	PAGE
Northeastern Europe in Time of Peter the Great	62
India about 1763	74
England, France, and Spain in America, 1750	82
France during the Revolution	150
Europe at the Time of Napoleon's Greatest Power, about 1810	214
Europe after 1815	230
Italy in 1859	318
Austria-Hungary	332
The German Empire since 1871	348
The British Empire	414
Western Portion of the Russian Empire	438
Southeastern Europe, 1914	458
The European Advance in Asia	476
The Partition of Africa	492
Europe at the Present Time	518

LIST OF FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

View of Berlin in 1717 4

Peter the Great watching the Procedure of the House of Lords in England 56

Swearing in the Deputies at the National Assembly, June 17, 1789 116

Emperor Napoleon I 198

Marshal Ney sustaining the Rear Guard of the Grand Army on the Retreat from Moscow 218

A Working-Class Demonstration in England against Unemployment 278

Conflict between Workingmen and the Troops in Paris, June, 1848 288

Frederick William IV taking Oath to support the Constitution, February 6, 1850 308

Victor Emmanuel's Entrance to Florence in 1860 . . . 314

Opening the Reichstag of the North German Confederation . 328

Bismarck 344

Catholics defending a Church against the Inventory of Property by the Police, in 1906 372

Men rioting for the Suffrage in Hyde Park (1866) . . . 388

Zambesi Bridge on the Cape-to-Cairo Railway 430

The Greatest General of All 500

Lloyd George 508

OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE OLD RÉGIME IN EUROPE

This volume deals with the last two hundred years of European history. Compared with the long period of more than five thousand years which lies between Menes I — the first ruler whose name we know — and Louis XIV of France, this seems a very short time. In many ways, however, it has seen far more astonishing changes than those which took place in all the preceding centuries.

Could Louis XIV now see the France he once ruled, how startling the revolution in politics and industry would seem to him! The railroads, the steel steamships, the great towns with well-lighted, smoothly paved, and carefully drained streets; the innumerable newspapers and the beautifully illustrated periodicals, the government schools, the popular elections, and his deserted palaces; the vast factories full of machinery, working with a precision and rapidity far surpassing those of an army of skilled workmen; and most astonishing of all, the mysterious and manifold applications of electricity which he knew only in the form of lightning playing among the storm clouds, — all these marvels would combine to convince him that he died on the eve of the greatest revolution in industry, government, and science that the world has ever seen. It is the purpose of this volume, after describing the conditions in Europe before the French Revolution, to show as clearly as possible the changes which have made the world what we find it to-day.

Life in the Country — Serfdom

1. If a peasant who had lived on a manor in the time of the Crusades had been permitted to return to earth and travel about Europe at the opening of the eighteenth century, he would have found much to remind him of the conditions under which, seven centuries earlier, he had extracted a scanty living from the soil. It is true that the gradual extinction of serfdom in western Europe appears to have begun as early as the twelfth century, but it proceeded at very different rates in different countries. In France the old type of serf had largely disappeared by the fourteenth century, and in England a hundred years later. In Prussia, Austria, Poland, Russia, Italy, and Spain, on the contrary, the great mass of the country people were still bound to the soil in the eighteenth century.

Survivals of manorial system in France in the eighteenth century

Even in France there were still many aggravating traces of the old system.[1] The peasant was, it is true, no longer bound to a particular manor; he could buy or sell his land at will, could marry without consulting the lord, and could go and come as he pleased. Many bought their land outright, while others disposed of their holdings and settled in town. But the lord might still require all those on his manor to grind their grain at his mill, bake their bread in his oven, and press their grapes in his wine press. The peasant might have to pay a toll to cross a bridge or ferry which was under the lord's control, or a certain sum for driving his flock past the lord's mansion. Many of the old arrangements still forced the peasant occupying a particular plot of land to turn over to the lord a certain portion of his crops, and, if he sold his land, to pay the lord a part of the money he received for it.

Survivals in England of the manorial system

In England in the eighteenth century the prominent features of serfdom had disappeared more completely than in France. The services in labor due to the lord had long been commuted into money payments, and the peasant was thus transformed into a renter or owner of his holding. He still took off his hat

[1] For a list of feudal dues, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 139.

to the squire of his village, and was liable to be severely punished by his lord, who was commonly a justice of the peace, if he was caught shooting a hare on the game preserves.

Condition of the serfs in a great part of Europe in the eighteenth century

In central, southern, and eastern Europe the mediæval system still prevailed; the peasant lived and died upon the same manor, and worked for his lord in the same way that his ancestors had worked a thousand years before. Everywhere the same crude agricultural instruments were still used, and most of the implements and tools were roughly made in the village itself. The wooden plows commonly found even on English farms were constructed on the model of the old Roman plow; wheat was cut with a sickle, grass with an unwieldy scythe, and the rickety cart wheels were supplied only with wooden rims.

Wretched houses of the peasants

The houses occupied by the country people differed greatly from Sicily to Pomerania, and from Ireland to Poland; but, in general, they were small, with little light or ventilation, and often they were nothing but wretched hovels with dirt floors and neglected thatch roofs. The pigs and the cows were frequently better housed than the people, with whom they associated upon very familiar terms, since the barn and the house were commonly in the same building. The drinking water was bad, and there was no attempt to secure proper drainage. Fortunately every one was out of doors a great deal of the time, for the women as well as the men usually worked in the fields, cultivating the soil and helping to gather in the crops.

Unattractive character of country life

Country life in the eighteenth century was obviously very arduous and unattractive for the most part. The peasant had no newspapers to tell him of the world outside his manor, nor could he have read them if he had them. Even in England not one farmer in five thousand, it is said, could read at all; and in France the local tax collectors were too uneducated to make out their own reports. Farther east conditions must have been still more cheerless, for a Hungarian peasant complains that he owed four days of his labor to his lord, spent the fifth and sixth hunting and fishing for him, while the seventh belonged to God.

The Towns and the Guilds

Towns still mediæval in the eighteenth century

2. Even in the towns there was much to remind one of the Middle Ages. The narrow, crooked streets, darkened by the overhanging buildings and scarcely lighted at all by night, the rough cobblestones, the disgusting odors even in the best quarters, — all offered a marked contrast to the European cities of to-day, which have grown tremendously in the last hundred years in size, beauty, and comfort.

London

In 1760 London had half a million inhabitants, or about a tenth of its present population. There were of course no street cars or omnibuses, to say nothing of the thousands of automobiles which now thread their way in and out through the press of traffic. A few hundred hackney coaches and sedan chairs served to carry those who had not private conveyances and could not, or would not, walk. The ill-lighted streets were guarded at night by watchmen who went about with lanterns, but afforded so little protection against the roughs and robbers that gentlemen were compelled to carry arms when passing through the streets after nightfall.

Paris

Paris was somewhat larger than London and had outgrown its mediæval walls.[1] The police were more efficient there, and the highway robberies which disgraced London and its suburbs were almost unknown. The great park, the "Elysian fields," and many boulevards which now form so distinguished a feature of Paris were already laid out; but, in general, the streets were still narrow, and there were none of the fine broad avenues which now radiate from a hundred centers. There were few sewers to carry off the water which, when it rained, flowed through the middle of the streets. The filth and the bad smells of former times still remained, and the people relied upon easily polluted wells or the dirty River Seine for their water supply.

German towns

In Germany very few of the towns had spread beyond their mediæval walls. They had, for the most part, lost their former

[1] For a description of the streets of Paris in 1787, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 141.

VIEW OF BERLIN IN 1717

Go home,
nigger!

prosperity, which was still attested by the fine houses of the merchants and of the once flourishing guilds. Berlin had a population of about two hundred thousand, and Vienna was slightly larger. The latter city, now one of the most beautiful in the world, then employed from thirty to a hundred street cleaners and boasted that the street lamps were lighted every night, while many towns contented themselves with dirty streets and with light during the winter months, and then only when the moon was not scheduled to shine.

Italian cities

Even the famous cities of Italy, — Milan, Genoa, Florence, Rome, — notwithstanding their beautiful palaces and public buildings, were, with the exception of water-bound Venice, crowded into the narrow compass of the town wall, and their streets were narrow and crooked.

Trade and industry conducted on a small scale

Another contrast between the towns of the eighteenth century and those of to-day lay in the absence of the great wholesale warehouses, the vast factories with their tall chimneys, and the attractive department stores which may now be found in every city from Dublin to Budapest. Commerce and industry were in general conducted upon a very small scale, except at the great ports like London, Antwerp, or Amsterdam, where goods coming from and going to the colonies were brought together.

The growth of industry under the influence of the various machines which were being invented during the latter part of the eighteenth century will form the subject of a later chapter. It is clear, however, that before the introduction of railroads, steamships, and machine-equipped factories, all business operations must have been carried on in what would seem to us a slow and primitive fashion.

The trades organized into guilds

A great part of the manufacturing still took place in little shops where the articles when completed were offered for sale. Generally all those who owned the several shops carrying on a particular trade, such as tailoring, shoemaking, baking, tanning, bookbinding, hair cutting, or the making of candles, knives,

hats, artificial flowers, swords, or wigs, were organized into a guild — a union — the main object of which was to prevent all other citizens from making or selling the articles in which the members of the guild dealt. The number of master workmen who might open a shop of their own was often limited by the guild, as well as the number of apprentices each master could train. The period of apprenticeship was long, sometimes seven or even nine years, on the ground that it took years to learn the trade properly, but really because the guild wished to maintain its monopoly by keeping down the number who could become masters. When the apprenticeship was over, the workman became a "journeyman" and might never perhaps become a master workman and open a shop of his own.

Guilds in England

This guild system had originated in the Middle Ages and was consequently hundreds of years old. In England the term of seven years was required for apprenticeship in all the staple trades, although the rule was by no means universally enforced. In Sheffield no master cutler could have more than one apprentice at a time; the master weavers of Norfolk and Norwich were limited to two apprentices each, and no master hatter in England could have more than two.[1]

Guilds in France and Germany

In France the guilds were more powerful than in England, since they had been supported and encouraged by Colbert, who believed that they kept up the standard of French products. In Germany the organization was much stricter and more widespread than either in England or in France. Old regulations concerning apprenticeship and the conduct of the various trades were still enforced. As a general rule, no master could have more than one apprentice, manage more than one workshop, or sell goods that he had not himself produced.

Strife among the guilds

Everywhere a workman had to stick to his trade; if a cobbler should venture to make a pair of new boots, or a baker should roast a piece of meat in his oven, he might be expelled

[1] Adam Smith's account of the guilds of his day is printed in the *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 142.

from the guild unless he made amends. In Paris a hatter, who had greatly increased his trade by making hats of wool mixed with silk, had his stock destroyed by the guild authorities on the ground that the rules permitted hats to be made only of wool and said nothing of silk. The trimming makers had an edict passed forbidding any one to make buttons that were cast or turned or made of horn.

The guilds not only protected themselves against workmen who opened shops without their permission, but each particular trade was in more or less constant disagreement with the other trades as to what each might make. The goldsmiths were the natural enemies of all who used gold in their respective operations, such as the clock and watch makers, the money changers, and those who set precious stones. Those who dealt in natural flowers were not allowed to encroach upon those who made artificial ones. One who baked bread must not make pies or cakes. The tailor who mended clothes must not permit himself to make new garments.

Three important differences between the guilds and the modern trade unions

The guilds differed from the modern trade unions in several important respects. In the first place, it was only the master workmen, who owned the shops, tools, or machines, who belonged to them. The apprentices and journeymen, that is, the ordinary workmen, were excluded and had no influence whatever upon the policy of the organization. In the second place, the government enforced the decisions of the guilds. For example, in Paris, if it was learned that a journeyman goldbeater was working for himself, a representative of the guild betook himself to the offender's house, accompanied by a town officer, and seized his tools and materials, after which the unfortunate man might be sent to the galleys for three years or perhaps get off with a heavy fine, imprisonment, and the loss of every chance of ever becoming a master. Lastly, the guilds were confined to the old-established industries which were still carried on, as they had been during the Middle Ages, on a small scale in the master's house.

Decline of the guilds

In spite, however, of the seeming strength of the guilds, they were really giving way before the entirely new conditions which had arisen. Thoughtful persons disapproved of them on the ground that they hampered industry and prevented progress by their outworn restrictions. In many towns the regulations were evaded or had broken down altogether, so that enterprising workmen and dealers carried on their business as they pleased. Then, as we have said, it was only the old industries that were included in the guild system. The newer manufactures, of silk and cotton goods, porcelain, fine glassware, etc., which had been introduced into Europe, were under the control of individuals or companies who were independent of the old guilds and relied upon monopolies and privileges granted by the rulers, who, in France at least, were glad to foster new industries.

The Nobility and the Monarchy

3. Not only had the mediæval manor and the mediæval guilds maintained themselves down into the eighteenth century, but the successors of the feudal lords continued to exist as a conspicuous and powerful class. They enjoyed various privileges and distinctions denied to the ordinary citizen, although they were, of course, shorn of the great power that the more important dukes and counts had enjoyed in the Middle Ages, when they ruled over vast tracts, could summon their vassals to assist them in their constant wars with their neighbors, and dared defy even the authority of the king himself.

The former independence of the feudal nobles lost by the eighteenth century

It is impossible to recount here how the English, French, and Spanish kings gradually subjugated the turbulent barons and brought the great fiefs directly under royal control. Suffice it to say that the monarchs met with such success that in the eighteenth century the nobles no longer held aloof but eagerly sought the king's court. Those whose predecessors had once been veritable sovereigns within their own domains, had declared war even against the king, coined money, made

laws for their subjects, and meted out justice in their castle halls, had, by the eighteenth century, deserted their war horses and laid aside their long swords; in their velvet coats and high-heeled shoes they were contented with the privilege of helping the king to dress in the morning and attending him at dinner. The battlemented castle, once the stronghold of independent chieftains, was transformed into a tasteful country residence where, if the king honored the owner with a visit, the host was no longer tempted, as his ancestors had been, to shower arrows and stones upon the royal intruder.

The French nobility

The French noble, unlike the English, was not fond of the country but lived with the court at Versailles whenever he could afford to do so, and often when he could not. He liked the excitement of the court, and it was there that he could best advance his own and his friends' interests by obtaining lucrative offices in the army or Church or in the king's palace. By their prolonged absence from their estates the nobles lost the esteem of their tenants, while their stewards roused the hatred of the peasants by strictly collecting all the ancient manorial dues in order that the lord might enjoy the gayeties at Versailles.

The French nobility a privileged class

The unpopularity of the French nobility was further increased by their exemptions from some of the heavy taxes, on the ground that they were still supposed to shed their blood in fighting for their king instead of paying him money like the unsoldierly burghers and peasants. They enjoyed, moreover, the preference when the king had desirable positions to grant. They also claimed a certain social superiority, since they were excluded by their traditions of birth from engaging in any ordinary trade or industry, although they might enter some professions, such as medicine, law, the Church, or the army, or even participate in maritime trade without derogating from their rank. In short, the French nobility, including some one hundred and thirty thousand or one hundred and forty thousand persons, constituted a privileged class, although they no

longer performed any of the high functions which had been exercised by their predecessors.

The ennobled

To make matters worse, very few of the nobles really belonged to old feudal families. For the most part they had been ennobled by the king for some supposed service, or had bought an office, or a judgeship in the higher courts, to which noble rank was attached. Naturally this circumstance served to rob them of much of the respect that their hereditary dignity and titles might otherwise have gained for them.

Peculiar position of the English peerage

In England the feudal castles had disappeared earlier even than in France, and the English law did not grant to any one, however long and distinguished his lineage, special rights or privileges not enjoyed by every freeman. Nevertheless there was a distinct noble class in England.[1] The monarch had formerly been accustomed to summon his earls and some of his barons to take council with him, and in this way the peerage developed; this included those whose title permitted them to sit in the House of Lords and to transmit this honorable prerogative to their eldest sons. But the peers paid the same taxes as every other subject and were punished in the same manner if they were convicted of an offense. Moreover only the eldest surviving son of a noble father inherited his rank, while on the Continent all the children became nobles. In this way the number of the English nobility was greatly restricted, and their social distinction roused little antagonism.

The German knights still resembled mediæval lords

In Germany, however, the nobles continued to occupy very much the same position which their ancestors held in the Middle Ages. There had been no king to do for all Germany what the French kings had done for France; no mighty man had risen strong enough to batter down castle walls and bend all barons, great and small, to his will. The result was that there were in Germany in the eighteenth century hundreds of nobles dwelling in strong old castles and ruling with a high hand domains which were sometimes no larger than a

[1] For Voltaire's account of the English nobility, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 146.

big American farm. They levied taxes, held courts, coined money, and maintained standing armies of perhaps only a handful of soldiers.

The chief noble was the king

In all the countries of Europe the chief noble was of course the monarch himself, to whose favor almost all the lesser nobles owed their titles and rank. He was, except in a few cases, always despotic, permitting the people no share in the management of the government and often rendering them miserable by needless wars and ill-advised and oppressive taxes. He commonly maintained a very expensive court and gave away to unworthy courtiers much of the money which he had wrung from his people. He was permitted to imprison his subjects upon the slightest grounds and in the most unjust manner; nevertheless he usually enjoyed their loyalty and respect, since they were generally ready to attribute his bad acts to evil councilors.

His arbitrary powers

The services performed by even despotic kings

On the whole, the king merited the respect paid him. He it was who had destroyed the power of innumerable lesser despots and created something like a nation. He had put a stop to the private warfare and feudal brigandage which had disgraced the Middle Ages. His officers maintained order throughout the country so that merchants and travelers could go to and fro with little danger. He opened highroads for them and established a general system of coinage, which greatly facilitated business operations. He interested himself more and more in commerce and industry and often encouraged learning. Finally, by consolidating his realms and establishing a regular system of government, he prepared the way for the European State of to-day in which the people are either accorded an effective control over lawmaking and the disposition of the public revenue, or, as in the case of France, the monarch has been discarded altogether as no longer needful. Democracy and political equality would, in fact, have been impossible if monarchs had not leveled down the proud and mighty nobles who aspired to be petty kings in their domains.

The Catholic Church

Importance of the mediæval Church in explaining modern problems

4. The eighteenth century had inherited from the Middle Ages not only the nobility but the clergy, who, especially in Catholic countries, were set off from the nation at large by their peculiar privileges. They were far more powerful and better organized than the nobility and exercised a potent influence in the State. The clergy owed their authority to the Church, which for many centuries had been the great central institution of Europe. The mediæval Church serves to explain more of the problems which have faced reformers in modern times than even the feudal and manorial systems.

It must be remembered that every one in the Middle Ages had been required to belong to the Church, somewhat in the same way that we to-day all belong as a matter of course to the State. Before the Protestant Revolt all the states of western Europe had formed a single religious association from which it was a crime to revolt. To refuse allegiance to the Church or to question its authority or teachings was reputed treason against God, the most terrible of all crimes.

The Church did not rely for its support, as churches must to-day, upon the voluntary contributions of its members, but enjoyed the revenue from vast domains which kings, nobles, and other landholders had from time to time given to the churches and monasteries. In addition to the income from its lands, the Church had the right, like the State, to impose a regular tax which was called the tithe. All who were subject to this were forced to pay it, whether they cared anything about religion or not, just as we are all compelled to pay taxes imposed by the government under which we live.

The Church a monarchy with the Pope at its head

Like the State, the Church had its own law courts in which many cases were decided. The Church not only performed the functions of a state, making laws for its members, taxing them, and trying and punishing them if they broke its laws; it had also the organization of a state. Unlike the Protestant ministers

of to-day, all churchmen and all religious associations of mediæval Europe were under one supreme head, the Roman pontiff, who made laws for all and controlled every Church officer, bishop, or priest, wherever he might be, whether in Italy, Spain, Germany, or Ireland. The Pope's control was facilitated by the circumstance that the Church had one official language — Latin — in which all communications were written and its services everywhere conducted.

Great powers still retained by the Catholic Church in the eighteenth century

In spite of the changes which had overtaken the Church since the Middle Ages, it still retained its ancient external appearance in the eighteenth century — its gorgeous ceremonial, its wealth, its influence over the lives of men, its intolerance of those who ventured to differ from the conceptions of Christianity which it believed to be its duty to impose upon every one. The ecclesiastical courts still tried many cases, in spite of the widening jurisdiction of the royal judges. The Church could fine and imprison those whom it convicted of blasphemy, contempt of religion, or heresy. The clergy managed the schools and saw to it that the children were brought up in the orthodox faith. Hospitals and other charitable institutions were under their control. They registered all births and deaths, and only the marriages which they sanctified were regarded by the State as legal. The monasteries still existed in great numbers and owned vast tracts of land. A map of Paris made in 1789 shows no less than sixty-eight monasteries and seventy-three nunneries within the walls. The clergy still forced the laity to pay the tithe, as in the Middle Ages, and still enjoyed exemption from the direct taxes.

Intolerance of both Catholics and Protestants

Both the Catholic and the Protestant churches were very intolerant, and in this were usually supported by the government, which was ready to punish or persecute those who refused to conform to the State religion, whatever it might be, or ventured to speak or write against its doctrines. There was none of that freedom which is so general now, and which permits a man to worship or not as he pleases, and even to denounce

religion in any or all its forms without danger of imprisonment, loss of citizenship, or death.

Position of the Protestants in France

In France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Protestants had lost all civil rights. According to a decree of 1724, those who assembled for any form of worship other than the Roman Catholic were condemned to lose their property; the men were to be sent to the galleys and the women imprisoned for life. The preachers who convoked such assemblies or performed Protestant ceremonies were punishable with death; but only a few executions took place, for happily the old enthusiasm for persecution was abating. None the less, all who did not accept the Catholic teachings were practically outlawed, for the priests would neither recognize the marriages nor register the births and deaths over which they were not called to preside. This made it impossible for Protestants to marry legally and have legitimate children, or to inherit or devise property. A royal proclamation in 1712 forbade physicians to visit such sick people as refused to call in a Catholic confessor, and the kings still pledged themselves in their coronation oaths to extirpate heretics.

Censorship of the press

Books and pamphlets were carefully examined in order to see whether they contained any attacks upon the orthodox Catholic beliefs or might in any way serve to undermine the authority of the Church or of the king. The Pope had long maintained a commission (which still exists) to examine new books, and to publish from time to time a list, called the "Index," of all those which the Church condemned and forbade the faithful to read. The king of France, as late as 1757, issued a declaration establishing the death penalty for those who wrote, printed, or distributed any work which appeared to be an attack upon religion. The teachings of the professors in the university were watched. A clergyman who ventured to compare the healing of the sick by Christ to the cures ascribed to Æsculapius was arrested (about 1750) by order of the king's judges at Paris and forced to leave the country. A considerable number of

the most enlightened books issued in France in the eighteenth century were condemned either by the clergy or the king's courts, and were burned by the common hangman or suppressed. Not infrequently the authors, if they could be discovered, were imprisoned.

Censorship ineffective

This did not check speculation, however, and books attacking the old ideas and suggesting reforms in Church and State constantly appeared and were freely circulated.[1] The writers took care not to place their names or those of the publishers upon the title-pages, and many such books were printed at Geneva or in Holland, where great freedom prevailed.

Strength of the Church in Spain, Austria, and Italy

In Spain, Austria, and Italy, however, and especially in the Papal States, the clergy, particularly the Jesuits, were more powerful and enjoyed more privileges than in France. In Spain the censorship of the press and the Inquisition constituted a double bulwark against change until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Peculiar situation of the great German prelates

In Germany the position of the Church varied greatly. The southern states were Catholic, while Prussia and the northern rulers had embraced Protestantism. Many of the archbishops, bishops, and abbots ruled as princes over their own lands and made the best arrangements they could with the Pope.

The English Established Church and the Protestant Sects

The Anglican Church as established under Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603)

5. In England Henry VIII had thrown off his allegiance to the Pope and declared himself the head of the English Church. Under his daughter, Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603), Parliament had established the Church of England. It abolished the mass and sanctioned the Book of Common Prayer, which has since remained the official guide to the services in the Anglican Church. The beliefs of the Church were brought

[1] See following chapter.

together in the Thirty-Nine Articles, from which no one was to vary or depart in the least degree. The system of government of the Roman Catholic Church, with its archbishops, bishops, and priests, was retained, but the general charge of religious matters and the appointment of bishops were put in the hands of the monarch or his ministers. All clergymen were required to subscribe solemnly to the Thirty-Nine Articles. All public religious services were to be conducted according to the Prayer Book, and those who failed to attend services on Sunday and holydays were to be fined.

Persecution of the Catholics in England

Those who persisted in adhering to the Roman Catholic faith fared badly, although happily there were no such general massacres as overwhelmed the Protestants in France. Under the influence of the Jesuits some of the English Catholics became involved in plots against the heretical queen, Elizabeth, who had been deposed by the Pope. These alleged "traitors" were in some instances executed for treason. Indeed, any one who brought a papal bull to England, who embraced Catholicism, or converted a Protestant was declared a traitor. Fines and imprisonment were inflicted upon those who dared to say or to hear mass.[1]

The Puritans

But there were many Protestants who did not approve of the Anglican Church as established by law. These "Dissenters" developed gradually into several sects with differing views. By far the most numerous of the Dissenters were the Baptists. They spread to America, and were the first Protestant sect to undertake foreign missions on a large scale, having founded a society for that purpose as early as 1792.[2]

[1] It may be noted here that the Catholics found a refuge in America from their Protestant persecutors, as did the Huguenots who fled from the oppression of the Catholic government in France. The colony of Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore in 1634 and named after the French wife of Charles I. In the nineteenth century the number of Catholics in the United States was vastly increased by immigration from Ireland, Italy, and other countries, so that there are over thirteen millions to-day who have been baptized into the Roman Catholic Church.

[2] For the legal position of the Catholics and Dissenters, see Blackstone's description in the *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 162.

The Friends, or Quakers

Another English sect which was destined also to be conspicuous in America was the Society of Friends, or Quakers, as they are commonly called. This group owes its origin to George Fox, who began his preaching in 1647. The Friends were distinguished by their simplicity of life and dress, their abhorrence of war, and their rejection of all ceremonial, including even the Lord's Supper. While there were fanatics among them whose practices brought discredit upon them both in Old England and New, no adherents to the Christian Church have ever shown their religion more consistently or beautifully in their lives than the Friends. Their chief stronghold in America has always been Pennsylvania, more particularly Philadelphia and its neighborhood, where they settled under the leadership of William Penn.

John Wesley and the Methodists

The last of the great Protestant sects to appear was that of the Methodists. Their founder, John Wesley, when at Oxford had established a religious society among his fellow-students. Their piety and the regularity of their habits gained for them the nickname of "Methodists." After leaving Oxford, Wesley spent some time in the colony of Georgia. On his return to England in 1738 he came to believe in the sudden and complete forgiveness of sins known as "conversion," which he later made the basis of his teaching. As he entered a meeting in London in 1738 he found the preacher reading Luther's preface to The Epistle to the Romans, and thus relates his own experience: "About a quarter before nine, while he [the preacher] was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ and in Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."[1]

John Wesley's conversion, 1738

This memorable evening marked a turning point in the life of Wesley. He soon began a series of great revival meetings in London and other large towns. He journeyed up and down the land, aided in his preaching by his brother Charles and by the

[1] For extracts from Wesley's famous Journal, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 168.

impassioned Whitefield. Only gradually did the Methodists separate themselves from the Church of England, of which they at first considered themselves members. In 1784 the numerous American Methodists were formally organized into the Methodist Episcopal Church, and early in the nineteenth century the English Methodists became an independent organization. At the time of Wesley's death his followers numbered over fifty thousand, and there are now in the United States over six millions, including the various branches of the Church.

Persecution of the Dissenters under Charles II

Parliament under Charles II showed itself very intolerant toward all Dissenters alike, — Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, Unitarians. Any clergyman who refused to accept everything in the Book of Common Prayer was to lose his benefice, and two thousand clergymen resigned for conscience' sake. In 1664 the Conventicle Act declared that any one attending any religious meeting not held in accordance with the practices of the English Church was liable, for repeated offenses, to be transported to some distant colony, and some of the more obstinate Dissenters were actually exiled. Finally, by the Test Act, every one was excluded from office who did not take the sacrament according to the usages of the Church of England.

Test Act

Legal intolerance in England

Upon the accession of William and Mary an Act of Toleration was passed in 1689, which permitted Dissenters to hold meetings; but "Papists and such as deny the Trinity" were explicitly excluded, so England still continued to maintain an intolerant system in the eighteenth century. It had a State Church with a particular form of belief and of services which was established by the government in Elizabeth's time. Even if the Dissenters were permitted to hold services in their own way, they were excluded from government offices unless they violated their own faith, nor could they obtain a degree at the universities.

The privileges of the Anglican clergy

Only the members of the Anglican Church could hold a benefice. Its bishops had seats in the House of Lords and its priests enjoyed a social preëminence denied to the dissenting ministers.

Existence of Catholics not recognized in England

Those who clung to the Roman Catholic faith, to the Pope and the mass, were forbidden to enter England. The celebration of the mass was strictly prohibited. All public offices were closed to Catholics and of course they could not sit in Parliament. Indeed, legally, they had no right whatever to be in England at all. In the middle of the eighteenth century an English court decided that the law did not recognize the existence of Roman Catholics within the realm and that their presence was only made possible by the lax enforcement of the law.

Freedom of the press in England

The Church courts still existed in England and could punish laymen for not attending church, for heresy, and for certain immoral acts. As late as 1812 a young woman was imprisoned for two years by a Church court because she failed to perform the penance it had imposed and had no money to pay the fees involved in the trial. The ecclesiastical tribunals still tried matrimonial cases and those concerned with wills. But one who published a book or pamphlet did not have to obtain the permission of the government as in France, and nowhere was there such unrestrained discussion of scientific and religious matters at this period as in England. As we shall see in the following chapter, England, in the early eighteenth century, was the center of progressive thought from which the French philosophers and reformers drew their inspiration.

In fact, the old spirit of persecution for mere diversity of opinion had almost disappeared in England. Blackstone, writing at the opening of the reign of George III, summed up the legal view in the following manner: "Certainly our ancestors were mistaken in their plans of compulsion and intolerance. The sin of schism, as such, is by no means the object of temporal coercion and punishment. If through weakness of intellect, through misdirected piety, through perverseness and acerbity of temper, or (which is often the case) through a prospect of secular advantage in herding with a party, men quarrel with the ecclesiastical establishment, the civil magistrate has nothing to do with it, unless their tenets and practice are such as threaten

ruin or disturbance to the State. He is bound indeed to protect the Established Church, and if this can be better effected by admitting none but its genuine members to offices of trust and emolument, he is certainly at liberty to do so, the disposal of offices being matter of favor and discretion. But, this point being once secured, all persecution for diversity of opinions, however ridiculous or absurd they may be, is contrary to every principle of sound policy and civil freedom."

REFERENCES

Germany in the Eighteenth Century: FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 23–27; HENDERSON, *A Short History of Germany*, Vol. II, pp. 219–226.

The French Nobility: LOWELL, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, pp. 70–82.

The English Peerage: MAY, *Constitutional History of England*, chap. v.

Town Life in France: LOWELL, pp. 154–185.

Town Life in England: LECKY, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II, chap. iv, pp. 97–115; chap. v, pp. 211–228.

Country Life in France: LOWELL, pp. 186–206.

Country Life in England: LECKY, Vol. II, chap. v, pp. 203–211; Vol. VII, chap. xxi, pp. 241–265.

The Clergy in France: LOWELL, pp. 25–39.

Religious Sects in England: LECKY, Vol. III, chap. viii, pp. 1–154; Vol. VI, chap. xvii, pp. 1–47; MAY, chap. xii.

CHAPTER II

THE SPIRIT OF REFORM

The Development of Modern Science

The spirit of reform

6. A thoughtful observer in the eighteenth century would, as we have seen, have discovered many mediæval institutions which had persisted in spite of the considerable changes which had taken place in conditions and ideas during the previous five hundred years. Serfdom, the guilds, the feudal dues, the nobility and clergy with their peculiar privileges, the declining monastic orders, the confused and cruel laws, — these were a part of the heritage which Europe had received from what was coming to be regarded as a dark and barbarous period. People began to be keenly alive to the deficiencies of the past, and to look to the future for better things, even to dream of progress beyond the happiest times of which they had any record. They came to feel that the chief obstacles to progress were the outworn institutions, the ignorance and prejudices of their forefathers, and that if they could only be freed from this incubus, they would find it easy to create new and enlightened laws and institutions to suit their needs.

Veneration for the past: "the good old days"

This attitude of mind seems natural enough in our progressive age, but two centuries ago it was distinctly new. Mankind has in general shown an unreasoning respect and veneration for the past. Until the opening of the eighteenth century the former times were commonly held to have been better than the present; for the evils of the past were little known, while those of the present were, as always, only too apparent. Men looked backward rather than forward. They aspired to fight as well, or be as saintly, or write as good books, or paint as beautiful

pictures, as the great men of old. That they might excel the achievements of their predecessors did not occur to them. Knowledge was sought not by studying the world about them but in some ancient authority. In Aristotle's vast range of works on various branches of science, the Middle Ages felt that they had a mass of authentic information which it should be the main business of the universities to explain and impart rather than to increase or correct by new investigations. Men's ideals centered in the past, and improvement seemed to them to consist in reviving, so far as possible, the "good old days."

How the scientists have created the spirit of progress and reform

It was mainly to the patient men of science that the western world owed its first hopes of future improvement. It is they who have shown that the ancient writers were mistaken about many serious matters and that they had at best a very crude and imperfect notion of the world. They have gradually robbed men of their old blind respect for the past, and by their discoveries have pointed the way to indefinite advance, so that now we expect constant change and improvement and are scarcely astonished at the most marvelous inventions.

In the Middle Ages the scholars and learned men had been but little interested in the world about them. They devoted far more attention to philosophy and theology than to what we should call the natural sciences. They were satisfied in the main to get their knowledge of nature from reading the works of the ancients, — above all, those of Aristotle.

Three modern scientific methods of discovering truth

As early as the thirteenth century, however, a very extraordinary Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon, showed his insight by protesting against the exaggerated veneration for books. Bacon advocated three methods of reaching truth which are now followed by all scientific men. In the first place, he proposed that natural objects and changes should be examined with great care, in order that the observer might determine exactly what happened in any given case. This has led in modern times to incredibly refined measurement and analysis. The chemist, for

example, can now determine the exact nature and amount of every substance in a cup of impure water, which may appear perfectly limpid to the casual observer. Then, secondly, Bacon advocated experimentation. He was not contented with mere observation of what actually happened, but tried new and artificial combinations and processes. Nowadays experimentation is, of course, constantly used by scientific investigators, and by means of it they ascertain many things which the most careful observation would never reveal. Thirdly, in order to carry on investigation and make careful measurements and experiments, apparatus designed for this special purpose was found to be necessary. As early as the thirteenth century it was discovered, for example, that a convex crystal or bit of glass would magnify objects, although several centuries elapsed before the microscope and telescope were devised.

1. Exact observation of the phenomena themselves

2. Experimentation

3. Scientific apparatus

The first scholar to draw up a great scheme of all the known sciences and work out a method of research which, if conscientiously followed, promised wonderful discoveries, was Francis Bacon, a versatile English statesman and author who wrote in the time of James I.[1] It seemed to him (as it had seemed to his namesake, Roger Bacon, three centuries earlier) that the discoveries which had hitherto been made were as nothing compared with what could be done if men would but study and experiment with things themselves, abandon their confidence in vague words like "moist" and "dry," "matter" and "form," and repudiate altogether "the thorny philosophy" of Aristotle which was taught in the universities. "No one," he declares, "has yet been found so firm of mind and purpose as resolutely to compel himself to sweep away all theories and common notions, and to apply the understanding, thus made fair and even, to a fresh examination of details. Thus it comes about that human knowledge is as yet a mere medley and ill-digested mass, made up of much credulity and much accident, and also of childish notions which we early have imbibed."

Francis Bacon (1561-1626)

[1] For extracts from Bacon's works, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 174.

Discovery of natural laws

The observation and experimentation of which we have been speaking were carried on by many earnest workers and soon began to influence deeply men's conceptions of the earth and of the universe at large. Of the many scientific discoveries, by far the most fundamental was the conviction that all things about us follow certain natural and immutable laws; and it is the determination of these laws and the seeking out of their applications to which the modern scientific investigator devotes his efforts, whether he be calculating the distance of a nebula or noting the effect of a drop of acid upon a frog's foot. He has given up all hope of reading man's fate in the stars, or of producing any results by magical processes. He is convinced that the natural laws have been found to work regularly in every instance where they have been carefully observed. Unlike the mediæval scholars, therefore, he hesitates to accept as true the reports which reach him of alleged miracles, that is, of exceptions to the general laws in which he has come to have such confidence. Moreover his study of the regular processes of nature has enabled him, as Roger Bacon foresaw, to work wonders far more marvelous than any attributed to the mediæval magician.

Opposition to scientific discoveries

The path of the scientific investigator has not always been without its thorns. Mankind has changed its notions with reluctance. The churchmen and the professors in the universities were wedded to the conceptions of the world which the mediæval theologians and philosophers had worked out, mainly from the Bible and Aristotle. They clung to the text-books which they and their predecessors had long used in teaching, and had no desire to begin a protracted and painful examination of the innumerable substances and organisms from a study of which the newer scientists were gathering information that refuted the venerated theories of the past.

Hostile attitude of the theologians

The theologians were especially prone to denounce scientific discoveries, on the ground that they did not harmonize with the teachings of the Bible as commonly accepted. It was naturally a great shock to them, and also to the public at large, to have

it suggested that man's dwelling place, instead of being God's greatest work, to which he had subordinated everything and around which the whole starry firmament revolved, was after all but a tiny speck in comparison with the whole universe, and its sun but one of an innumerable host of similar glowing bodies of stupendous size, each of which might have its particular family of planets revolving about it.

Galileo punished for advocating new ideas

The bolder thinkers were consequently sometimes made to suffer for their ideas, and their books prohibited or burned. Galileo was forced to say that he did not really believe that the earth revolved about the sun; and he was kept in partial confinement for a time and ordered to recite certain psalms every day for three years for having ventured to question the received views in a book which he wrote in Italian, instead of Latin, so that the public at large might read it.[1]

How the Scientific Discoveries produced a Spirit of Reform

Effects of scientific discoveries on religious belief

7. Those who accepted the traditional views of the world and of religion, and opposed change, were quite justified in suspecting that scientific investigation would sooner or later make them trouble. It taught men to distrust, and even to scorn, the past which furnished so many instances of ignorance and gross superstition. Instead of accepting the teachings of the theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, that mankind through Adam's fall was rendered utterly vile, and incapable (except through God's special grace) of good thoughts or deeds, certain

[1] But even the scientists themselves did not always readily accept new discoveries. Francis Bacon, who lived some seventy years after Copernicus, still clung to the old idea of the revolution of the sun about the earth and still believed in many quite preposterous illusions, as, for example, that "it hath been observed by the ancients that where a rainbow seemeth to hang over or to touch, there breatheth forth a sweet smell"; and that "since the ape is a merry and a bold beast, its heart worn near the heart of a man comforteth the heart and increaseth audacity." In the latter half of the eighteenth century Lavoisier was burned in effigy in Berlin because his discovery of oxygen threatened the accepted explanation of combustion.

thinkers began to urge that man was by nature good; that he should freely use his own God-given reason; that he was capable of becoming increasingly wise by a study of nature's laws, and that he could indefinitely better his own condition and that of his fellows if he would but free himself from the shackles of error and superstition. Those who had broadened their views of mankind and of the universe refused longer to believe that God had revealed himself only to the Jewish people, but maintained that he must be equally solicitous for all his creatures in all ages and in all parts of a boundless universe where everything was controlled by his immutable laws. This tendency to "enlarge God" is illustrated in the famous "Universal Prayer" of Alexander Pope, written about 1737:

Father of all! in ev'ry age,
In ev'ry clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehova, Jove, or Lord!

. . . . . .

Yet not to earth's contracted span
Thy goodness let me bound,
Or think Thee Lord alone of man,
When thousand worlds are 'round.

The deists

Pope was suspected of "infidelity" to the Christian religion and of rejecting the Bible as God's revelation to man, although nowadays the most devout Christian could read without offense his long poem called "An Essay on Man." But there were in his day a considerable number of "freethinkers" in England who attacked the Christian religion in no doubtful terms, and whose books were eagerly read and discussed. These "deists" maintained that their conception of God was far worthier than that of the Christian believer, who, they declared, accused the deity of violating his own laws by miracles and of condemning a great part of his children to eternal torment.

In the year 1726 there landed in England a young and gifted Frenchman, who was to become the great prophet of

deism in all lands. Voltaire, who was then thirty-two years old, had already deserted the older religious beliefs and was consequently ready to follow enthusiastically the more radical of the English thinkers, who discussed matters with an openness which filled him with astonishment. He became an ardent admirer of the teachings of Newton, whose stately funeral he attended shortly after his arrival. He regarded the discoverer of universal gravitation as greater than an Alexander or a Cæsar, and did all he could to popularize Newton's work in France. "It is to him who masters our minds by the force of truth, not to those who enslave men by violence; it is to him who understands the universe, not to those who disfigure it, that we owe our reverence."

How Voltaire came to England, 1726

Voltaire was deeply impressed by the Quakers, — their simple life and their hatred of war. He was delighted with the English philosophers, especially with John Locke[1] (died in 1704); he thought Pope's "An Essay on Man" the finest moral poem ever composed; he admired the English liberty of speech and writing; he respected the general esteem for the merchant class. In France, he said, "the merchant so constantly hears his business spoken of with disdain that he is fool enough to blush for it; yet I am not sure that the merchant who enriches his country, gives orders from his countinghouse at Surat or Cairo, and contributes to the happiness of the globe is not more useful to a state than the thickly bepowdered lord who knows exactly what

Voltaire charmed by the English freedom of speech

[1] Locke rejected the notion that man was born with certain divinely implanted ideas, and maintained that we owe all that we know to the sensations and impressions which come to us from without. Locke was a man of extraordinary modesty, good sense, and caution, and he and his gifted successor, Bishop Berkeley, did much to found modern psychology by helping to rid the world of certain meaningless abstractions and encouraging the careful study of our own mental processes to which so much attention is now being given. Berkeley's *New Theory of Vision* is a clear account of the gradual way in which we learn to see. He shows that a blind man, if suddenly restored to sight, would make little or nothing of the confused colors and shapes which would first strike his eye. He would learn only from prolonged experience that one set of colors and contours meant a man and another a horse or a table, no matter how readily he might recognize the several objects by touch.

time the king rises and what time he goes to bed, and gives himself mighty airs of greatness while he plays the part of a slave in the minister's anteroom."

Voltaire's *Letters on the English*

Voltaire proceeded to enlighten his countrymen by a volume of essays in which he set forth his impressions of England; but the high court of justice (the *parlement*) of Paris condemned these *Letters on the English* to be publicly burned, as scandalous and contrary alike to good manners and to the respect due to the principalities and powers. In this way they furnished one more illustration of the need of such men as Voltaire, who was to become, during the remainder of a long life, the chief advocate throughout Europe of unremitting reliance upon reason and of confidence in enlightenment and progress. And since a great part of the institutions of his day were not based upon reason but upon mere tradition, and were often quite opposed to common sense, "the touch of reason was fatal to the whole structure, which instantly began to crumble." His keen eye was continually discovering some new absurdity in the existing order, which, with incomparable wit and literary skill, he would expose to his eager readers. He was interested in almost everything; he wrote histories, dramas, philosophic treatises, romances, epics, and innumerable letters to his innumerable admirers. The vast range of his writings enabled him to bring his bold questionings to the attention of all sorts and conditions of men, — not only to the general reader, but even to the careless playgoer.[1]

Voltaire's wide influence and popularity

Voltaire's attack upon the Church

While Voltaire was successfully inculcating free criticism in general, he led a relentless attack upon the most venerable, probably the most powerful, institution in Europe, the Roman Catholic Church. The absolute power of the king did not trouble him, but the Church, with what appeared to him to be its deep-seated opposition to a free exercise of reason and its hostility to reform, seemed fatally to block all human progress. He was wont to close his letters with the exhortation, "Crush the infamous thing." The Church, as it fully realized, had never encountered

[1] For extracts from Voltaire's writings, see *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 179 ff.

a more deadly enemy. Not only was Voltaire supremely skillful in his varied methods of attack, but there were thousands of both the thoughtful and the thoughtless ready to applaud him; for not only was he always brilliant and entertaining in his diatribes, but many of his readers had reached the same conclusions, although they might not be able to express their thoughts so persuasively as he.[1]

Voltaire maintains that the Church should not encroach upon the functions of the State

Voltaire was not only irritated by what he regarded as the gloomy superstition of the Church, its cruel intolerance, and the hateful conflicts over seemingly unimportant matters of belief, but he held that it exercised a pernicious control over the government. In his famous *Handy Philosophic Dictionary*, a little volume of witty essays on a variety of themes which he published anonymously in 1764, he maintains that no law of the Church should have the least force unless expressly sanctioned by the government; that all ecclesiastics should be subject to the government, should pay taxes like every one else, and should have no power to deprive a citizen of the least of his rights on the ground that he is a sinner, "since the priest — himself a sinner — should pray for other sinners, not judge them." Marriage should be entirely under the control of the civil government, and the shameful custom, as he calls it, of paying a part of the clergy's revenue to a "foreign priest," namely the Pope, should no longer be maintained. But the *parlement* of Paris condemned the book to be burned, on the ground that it defended license and incredulity; that it attacked all that was sacred in religious teachings, mysteries, and authority; and that the writer gloried in sinking to the level of the brutes and dragging others down into his own degradation.

Weaknesses of Voltaire

Were there space at command, a great many good things, as well as plenty of bad ones, might be told of this extraordinary

[1] Voltaire repudiated the beliefs of the Protestant churches as well as of the Roman Church. He was, however, no atheist, as his enemies — and they have been many and bitter — have so often asserted. He believed in God, and at his country home, near Geneva, he dedicated a temple to him. Like many of his contemporaries, he was a deist, and held that God had revealed himself in nature and in our own hearts, not in Bible or Church.

man. He was often superficial in his judgments, and sometimes jumped to unwarranted conclusions. He saw only evil in the Church and seemed incapable of understanding all that it had done for mankind during the bygone ages. He maliciously attributed to evil motives teachings which were accepted by the best and loftiest of men. He bitterly ridiculed even the holiest and purest aspirations, along with the alleged deceptions of the Jesuits and the quarrels of the theologians.

Real greatness of Voltaire

He could, and did, however, fight bravely against wrong and oppression. The abuses which he attacked were in large part abolished by the Revolution. It is unfair to notice only Voltaire's mistakes and exaggerations, as many writers, both Catholic and Protestant, have done; for he certainly did more than any one else to prepare the way for the great and permanent reform of the Church, as a political and social institution, in 1789–1790. "When the right sense of historical proportion is more fully developed in men's minds," John Morley writes, "the name of Voltaire will stand out like the names of the great decisive movements in the European advance, like the Revival of Learning or the Reformation. The existence, character, and career of this extraordinary person constituted in themselves a new and prodigious era."

Diderot's *Encyclopædia*

Voltaire had many admirers and powerful allies. Among these none were more important than Denis Diderot and the scholars whom Diderot induced to coöperate with him in preparing articles for a new *Encyclopædia*, which was designed to spread among a wide range of intelligent readers a knowledge of scientific advance and rouse enthusiasm for reform and progress.[1] An encyclopædia was by no means a new thing. Diderot's plan had been suggested by a proposal to publish a French translation of Chambers's *Cyclopædia*. Before his first volume appeared, a vast *Universal Dictionary*

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 185, for an extract from Diderot's preface to the last installment of the *Encyclopædia*.

had been completed in Germany in sixty-four volumes. But few people outside of that country could read German in those days, whereas the well-written and popular articles of Diderot and his helpers, ranging from "abacus," "abbey," and "abdication" to "Zoroaster," "Zurich," and "zimology," were in a language that many people all over Europe could understand.

The *Encyclopædia* rouses the hostility of the theologians

Diderot and his fellow-editors endeavored to rouse as little opposition as possible. They respected current prejudices and gave space to ideas and opinions with which they were not personally in sympathy. They furnished material, however, for refuting what they believed to be mistaken notions, and Diderot declared that "time will enable people to distinguish what we have thought from what we have said." But no sooner did the first two volumes appear in 1752 than the king's ministers, to please the Church, suppressed them, as containing principles hostile to royal authority and religion, although they did not forbid the continuation of the work. The attitude of the clergy led Diderot to exclaim angrily: "I know nothing so indecent as these vague declamations of the theologians against reason. To hear them, one would suppose that men could only enter into the bosom of Christianity as a herd of cattle enters a stable; and that we must renounce our common sense if we are either to embrace our religion or to remain in it."

Diderot nevertheless completes the *Encyclopædia*

As volume after volume appeared, the subscribers increased; but so did the opposition. The Encyclopædists were declared to be a band bent upon the destruction of religion and the undermining of society; the government again interfered, withdrew the license to publish the work, and prohibited the sale of the seven volumes that were already out. Nevertheless seven years later Diderot was able to deliver the remaining ten volumes to the subscribers in spite of the government's prohibition.

Value of the *Encyclopædia*

The *Encyclopædia* attacked temperately, but effectively, religious intolerance, the bad taxes, the slave trade, and the atrocities of the criminal law; it encouraged men to turn their

minds to natural science with all its beneficent possibilities, and this helped to discourage the old interest in theology and barren metaphysics. The article, "Legislator," written by Diderot, says: "All the men of all lands have become necessary to one another for the exchange of the fruits of industry and the products of the soil. Commerce is a new bond among men. In these days every nation has an interest in the preservation by every other nation of its wealth, its industry, its banks, its luxury, its agriculture. The ruin of Leipzig, of Lisbon, of Lima, has led to bankruptcies on all the exchanges of Europe and has affected the fortunes of many millions of persons." The English statesman, John Morley, is doubtless right when he says, in his enthusiastic account of Diderot and his companions, that "it was this band of writers, organized by a harassed man of letters, and not the nobles swarming around Louis XV, nor the churchmen singing masses, who first grasped the great principle of modern society, the honour that is owed to productive industry. They were vehement for the glories of peace and passionate against the brazen glories of war."

Montesquieu (1689–1755) and his *Spirit of Laws*

Neither Voltaire nor Diderot had attacked the kings and their despotic system of government. Montesquieu, however, while expressing great loyalty to French institutions, opened the eyes of his fellow-citizens to the disadvantages and abuses of their government by his enthusiastic eulogy of the limited monarchy of England. In his celebrated work, *The Spirit of Laws, or the Relation which Laws should bear to the Constitution of Each Country, its Customs, Climate, Religion, Commerce*, etc., he proves from history that governments are not arbitrary arrangements, but that they are the natural products of special conditions and should meet the needs of a particular people at a particular period. England, he thought, had developed an especially happy system.

Next to Voltaire, the writer who did most to cultivate discontent with existing conditions was Jean Jacques Rousseau[1]

[1] Extracts from his writings are to be found in the *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 187 ff.

(1712–1778). Unlike Voltaire and Diderot, Rousseau believed that people thought too much, not too little; that we should trust to our hearts rather than to our heads, and may safely rely upon our natural feelings and sentiments to guide us. He declared that Europe was overcivilized, and summoned men to return to nature and simplicity. His first work was a prize essay written in 1750, in which he sought to prove that the development of the arts and sciences had demoralized mankind, inasmuch as they had produced luxury, insincerity, and arrogance. He extolled the rude vigor of Sparta and denounced the refined and degenerate life of the Athenians.

Rousseau (1712–1778) attacks civilization

Later Rousseau wrote a book on education, called *Émile*, which is still famous. In this he protests against the efforts made by teachers to improve upon nature, for, he maintains, "All things are good as their Author made them, but everything degenerates in the hands of man. . . . To form this rare creature, man, what have we to do? Much doubtless, but chiefly to prevent anything from being done. . . . All our wisdom consists in servile prejudices; all our customs are but anxiety and restraint. Civilized man is born, lives, dies in a state of slavery. At his birth he is sewed in swaddling clothes; at his death he is nailed in a coffin; as long as he preserves the human form he is fettered by our institutions."

Rousseau's *Émile* deals with education

Rousseau's plea for the simple life went to the heart of many a person who was weary of complications and artificiality. Others were attracted by his firm belief in the natural equality of mankind and the right of every man to have a voice in the government. In his celebrated little treatise, *The Social Contract*, he takes up the question, By what right does one man rule over others? The book opens with the words: "Man is born free and yet is now everywhere in chains. One man believes himself the master of others and yet is after all more of a slave than they. How did this change come about? I do not know. What can render it legitimate? I believe that I can answer that question." It is, Rousseau declares, the will of the people that

The Social Contract

Popular sovereignty

renders government legitimate. The real sovereign is the people. Although they may appoint a single person, such as a king, to manage the government for them, they should make the laws, since it is they who must obey them. We shall find that the first French constitution accepted Rousseau's doctrine and defined law as "the expression of the general will," — not the will of a king reigning by the grace of God.

Beccaria (1738–1794) and his book on *Crimes and Punishments*

Among all the books advocating urgent reforms which appeared in the eighteenth century none accomplished more than a little volume by the Italian economist and jurist, Beccaria, which exposed with great clearness and vigor the atrocities of the criminal law. The trials (even in England) were scandalously unfair and the punishments incredibly cruel. The accused was not ordinarily allowed any counsel and was required to give evidence against himself. Indeed, it was common enough to use torture to force a confession from him. Witnesses were examined secretly and separately and their evidence recorded before they faced the accused. Informers were rewarded, and the flimsiest evidence was considered sufficient in the case of atrocious crimes. After a criminal had been convicted he might be tortured by the rack, thumbscrews, applying fire to different parts of his body, or in other ways, to induce him to reveal the names of his accomplices.

Unfairness of criminal trials

Cruelty of the punishments

The death penalty was established for a great variety of offenses besides murder, — for example, heresy, counterfeiting, highway robbery, even sacrilege. In England there were, according to the great jurist Blackstone, a hundred and sixty offenses punishable with death, including cutting down trees in an orchard, and stealing a sum over five shillings in a shop, or more than twelve pence from a person's pocket. Yet in spite of the long list of capital offenses, the trials in England were far more reasonable than on the Continent, for they were public and conducted before a jury, and torture was not used.

Beccaria advocated public trials in which the accused should be confronted by those who gave evidence against him. Secret accusations should no longer be considered. Like Voltaire,

Montesquieu, and many others, he denounced the practice of torturing a suspected person with a view of compelling him by bodily anguish to confess himself guilty of crimes of which he might be quite innocent. As for punishments, he advocated the entire abolition of the death penalty, on the ground that it did not deter the evil doer as life imprisonment at hard labor would, and that in its various hideous forms — beheading, hanging, mutilation, breaking on the wheel — it was a source of demoralization to the spectators. Punishments should be less harsh but more certain and more carefully proportioned to the danger of the offense to society. Nobles and magistrates convicted of crime should be treated exactly like offenders of the lowest class. Confiscation of property should be abolished, since it brought suffering to the innocent members of the criminal's family. It was better, he urged, to prevent crimes than to punish them, and this could be done by making the laws very clear and the punishments for their violation very certain, but, above all, by spreading enlightenment through better education.

Beccaria advocates public trials and milder but certain punishments

About the middle of the eighteenth century a new social science was born, namely, political economy. Scholars began to investigate the sources of a nation's wealth, the manner in which commodities were produced and distributed, the laws determining demand and supply, the function of money and credit, and their influence upon industry and commerce. Previous to the eighteenth century these matters had seemed unworthy of scientific discussion. Few suspected that there were any great laws underlying the varying amount of wheat that could be bought for a shilling, or the rate of interest that a bank could charge. The ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome had despised the tiller of the soil, the shopkeeper, and the artisan, for these indispensable members of society at that period were commonly slaves. The contempt for manual labor had decreased in the Middle Ages, but the learned men who studied theology, or pondered over Aristotle's teachings in regard to "form" and "essence," never thought of considering the effect

The science of political economy develops in the eighteenth century

of the growth of population upon serfdom, or of an export duty upon commerce, any more than they tried to determine why the housewife's milk soured more readily in warm weather than in cold, or why a field left fallow regained its fertility.[1]

Tendency of the governments to regulate commerce and industry

Although ignorant of economic laws, the governments had come gradually to regulate more and more both commerce and industry. We have seen how each country tried to keep all the trade for its own merchants by issuing elaborate regulations and restrictions, and how the king's officers enforced the monopoly of the guilds. Indeed, the French government, under Colbert's influence, fell into the habit of regulating well-nigh everything. In order that the goods which were produced in France might find a ready sale abroad, the government fixed the quality and width of the cloth which might be manufactured and the character of the dyes which should be used. The king's ministers kept a constant eye upon the dealers in grain and breadstuffs, forbidding the storing up of these products or their sale outside a market. In this way they had hoped to prevent speculators from accumulating grain in order to sell it at a high rate in times of scarcity.

Doctrines of the "mercantilists"

In short, at the opening of the eighteenth century statesmen, merchants, and such scholars as gave any attention to the subject believed that the wealth of a country could be greatly increased by government regulation and encouragement, just as in the United States to-day it is held by the majority of citizens that the government can increase prosperity and improve the conditions of the wage-earners by imposing high duties upon imported articles. It was also commonly believed that a country, to be really prosperous, must export more than it imported, so that foreign nations would each year owe it a cash balance, which would have to be paid in gold or silver and in this way

[1] The mediæval philosophers and theologians discussed, it is true, the question whether it was right or not to charge interest for money loaned, and what might be a "just price." But both matters were considered as ethical or theological problems rather than in their economic aspects. See Ashley, *English Economic History*, Vol. I, chap. iii; Vol. II, chap. vi.

increase its stock of precious metals. Those who advocated using the powers of government to encourage and protect shipping, to develop colonies, and to regulate manufactures are known as "mercantilists."

Origin of the "free-trade" school of economists

About the year 1700, however, certain writers in France and England reached the conclusion that the government did no good by interfering with natural economic laws which it did not understand and whose workings it did not reckon with. They argued that the government restrictions often produced the worst possible results; that industry would advance far more rapidly if manufacturers were free to adopt new inventions instead of being confined by the government's restrictions to old and discredited methods; that, in France, the government's frantic efforts to prevent famines by making all sorts of rules in regard to selling grain only increased the distress, since even the most powerful king could not violate with impunity an economic law. So the new economists rejected the formerly popular mercantile policy. They accused the mercantilists of identifying gold and silver with wealth, and maintained that a country might be prosperous without a favorable cash balance. In short, the new school advocated "free trade." A French economist urged his king to adopt the motto, *Laissez faire* (Let things alone), if he would see his realms prosper.

Doctrines of Turgot

The leading economist of France in the eighteenth century was Turgot, who, as head of the government for a brief period, made, as we shall see, an unsuccessful effort to remedy the existing abuses.[1] He argued that it would be quite sufficient if "the government should always protect the natural liberty of the buyer to buy and of the seller to sell. For the buyer being always the master to buy or not to buy, it is certain that he will select among the sellers the man who will give him at the best bargain the goods that suit him best. It is not less certain that every seller, it being his chief interest to merit preference over his competitors, will sell in general the best goods and at the

[1] See below, p. 218.

lowest price at which he can make a profit in order to attract customers. The merchant or manufacturer who cheats will be quickly discredited and lose his custom without the interference of government."

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776)

The first great systematic work upon political economy was published by a Scotch philosopher, Adam Smith, in 1776. His *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* became the basis of all further progress in the science. He attacked the doctrines of the mercantilists and the various expedients which they had favored, — import duties, bounties, restrictions upon exporting grain, etc., — all of which he believed "retard instead of accelerating the progress of society toward real wealth and greatness; and diminish instead of increasing the real value of the annual produce of its labor and land." In general he agreed with Turgot that the State should content itself with protecting traders and business men and seeing that justice was done; but he sympathized with the English navigation laws, although they obviously hampered commerce, and was not as thoroughgoing a free trader as many of the later English economists.

The economists attack existing abuses

While the economists in France and England by no means agreed in details, they were at one in believing that it was useless and harmful to interfere with what they held to be the economic laws. They brought the light of reason to bear, for example, upon the various bungling and iniquitous old methods of taxation then in vogue, and many of them advocated a single tax which should fall directly upon the landowner. They wrote treatises on practical questions, scattered pamphlets broadcast, and even conducted a magazine or two in the hope of bringing home to the people at large the existing economic evils.

The eighteenth century a period of rapidly increasing enlightenment

It is clear from what has been said that the eighteenth century was a period of unexampled advance in general enlightenment. New knowledge spread abroad by the Encyclopædists, the economists, and writers on government — Turgot, Adam Smith, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Beccaria, and many others of

lesser fame — led people to see the vices of the existing system and gave them at the same time new hope of bettering themselves by abandoning the mistaken beliefs and imperfect methods of their predecessors. The spirit of reform penetrated even into kings' palaces, and we must now turn to the actual attempts to better affairs made by the more enlightened rulers of Europe.

Reforms of Frederick II, Catharine II, and Joseph II

The "enlightened despots"

8. It happened in the eighteenth century that there were several remarkably intelligent monarchs, — Frederick II of Prussia, Catharine the Great of Russia, Emperor Joseph II, and Charles III of Spain. These rulers read the works of the reformers, and planned all sorts of ways in which they might better the conditions in their realms by removing old restrictions which hampered the farmer and merchant, by making new and clearer laws, by depriving the clergy of wealth and power which seemed to them excessive, and by encouraging manufactures and promoting commerce.

These monarchs are commonly known as the "enlightened" or "benevolent" despots. They were no doubt more "enlightened" than the older kings; at least they all read books and associated with learned men. But they were not more "benevolent" than Charlemagne, or Canute, or St. Louis, or Henry IV, all of whom, as well as many other European monarchs of earlier centuries, had believed it their duty to do all they could for the welfare of their people. On the other hand, the monarchs of the eighteenth century were certainly despots in the full sense of the word. They held that all the powers of the State were vested in them, and had no idea of permitting their subjects any share in the government. Moreover they were as much interested in fighting one another as their predecessors had been, and were constantly trying to add to their own territories by robbing their neighbors, as we shall see in a later chapter.

Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–1786)

One of the most striking and practical of the reforming rulers was Frederick the Great of Prussia. As a youth he had grieved and disgusted his father by his fondness for books and his passion for writing verses and playing the flute. A French tutor had instilled in him a love for the polished language of France and an enthusiasm for her literature and for her philosophers who were busy attacking the traditional religious ideas to which Frederick's father stoutly clung. When eighteen years old Frederick had tried to run away in order to escape the harsh military discipline to which he was subjected. He was captured and brought before the king, who was in such a rage that he seemed upon the point of killing his renegade son with his sword. He contented himself, however, with imprisoning Frederick in the citadel of Küstrin, with no books except a Bible, and forced him to witness the execution of one of his companions, who had aided his flight.

After this Frederick consented to give some contemptuous attention to public affairs. He inspected the royal domains near Küstrin and began, for the first time, to study the peasants, their farms, and their cattle. He even agreed to marry a princess whom his father had selected for him, and settled down to a scholarly life, studying literature, philosophy, history, and mathematics, and carrying on a correspondence with learned men of all nations, especially with Voltaire,[1] whom he greatly admired. He was very fond indeed of writing and seized every spare moment of a busy life to push forward his works upon history, politics, and military matters. No less than twenty-four volumes of his writings, all in French, were published shortly after his death, and these did not include everything that he had managed to write.[2]

He said that the ruler owed the State an account of the uses to which he put the taxes raised for its support and defense. He allowed the people no part in the government, it is true,

[1] See above, pp. 27 ff.

[2] For Frederick's description of a king's duties, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 202.

but he worked very hard himself. He rose early and was busy all day. He was his own prime minister and the real head of all branches of the government, watching over the army and leading it in battle, attending to foreign affairs, guarding the finances, overseeing the courts, journeying up and down the land investigating the conduct of his officials and examining into the condition of his people.

Religious toleration in Prussia

In religious matters Frederick was extremely tolerant; he held that his subjects should be allowed to worship God freely in any way they pleased. His kingdom had long been Protestant, but there were many Catholics in parts of his scattered dominions. He welcomed Huguenots and Jesuits with equal cordiality and admitted Catholics as well as Protestants to his service. "I stand neutral between Rome and Geneva," he once said; "he who wrongs his brother of a different faith shall be punished; were I to declare for one or the other creed I should excite party spirit and persecution; my aim, on the contrary, is to show the adherents of the different churches that they are all fellow-citizens."[1]

Catharine II empress of Russia (1762–1796)

The most interesting of all the "benevolent despots" was Catharine of Russia. Since she was to play a conspicuous rôle in all the affairs of Europe for thirty-five years, a word must be said of the manner in which this German woman became the ruler of all the Russias. She was the daughter of one of Frederick the Great's officers and had been selected by him in 1743, at the request of the Tsarina Elizabeth, as a suitable wife for Peter, the heir to the throne. At the age of fourteen this inexperienced girl found herself in the midst of the intrigues of the court at St. Petersburg; she joined the Greek Church, exchanged her name of Sophia for that of Catharine, and, by zealous study of both books and men, prepared to make her

[1] Frederick agreed with Voltaire in his contempt for theological disputes. A clergyman of Valangin was expelled from his pulpit by his congregation because he questioned eternal punishment; when he petitioned Frederick to reinstate him, the king replied, "If my loving subjects of Valangin choose to be eternally damned, it is not for me to interfere."

new name famous. Her husband proved to be a worthless fellow, who early began to neglect and maltreat her. Catharine won over the imperial guard and had herself proclaimed empress. Peter was forced to abdicate and was carried off by some of Catharine's supporters, who put him to death, probably with her tacit consent.

Catharine's character

In the spirit of Peter the Great, Catharine determined to carry on the Europeanizing of Russia and extend her empire.[1] She was thoroughly unscrupulous and hypocritical, but she was shrewd in the choice and management of her ministers and was herself a hard worker. She rose at six o'clock in the morning, hurried through her toilet, prepared her own light breakfast, and turned to the exacting and dull business of government, carefully considering the reports laid before her relating to the army, the navy, finances, and foreign affairs.

Catharine II of Russia

Catharine II showed herself almost as interested in the philosophers and reformers as did Frederick.[2] She invited Diderot to spend a month with her and was disappointed that d'Alembert would not consent to become the tutor of the grand duke Paul, the heir to the throne. She subscribed for the *Encyclopædia*, and bought Diderot's library when he got into trouble, permitting him to continue to use the books as long as he wished. In her frequent letters to Voltaire she explained to him her various plans for reform.

Catharine maintains serfdom but secularizes the Church lands

There was some talk of abolishing serfdom in Russia, but Catharine rather increased than decreased the number of serfs, and she made their lot harder than it had been before by forbidding them to complain of the treatment they received at the hands of their masters. She appropriated the vast property of the churches and monasteries, using the revenue to support the clergy and monks, and such surplus as remained she devoted to schools and hospitals.

It is clear that while Frederick and Catharine expressed great admiration for the reformers, they did not attempt to

[1] See below, pp. 53 ff.

[2] For an account of Catharine by a contemporary, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 210.

make any sweeping changes in the laws or the social order. Emperor Joseph II, who, after the death of his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1780, became ruler of the Austrian dominions, had, however, the courage of his convictions.[1] He proposed to transform the scattered and heterogeneous territories over which he ruled into a well-organized state in which disorder, confusion, prejudice, fanaticism, and intellectual bondage should disappear and all his subjects be put in possession of their natural rights. Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Bohemians, and Belgians were all to use the German language in official communications. The old irregular territorial divisions were abolished and his realms divided up into thirteen new provinces. All the ancient privileges enjoyed by the towns and the local assemblies were done away with and replaced by a uniform system of government in which his own officials enjoyed the control.

Rash reforms of Joseph II of Austria (emperor, 1765–1790)

Joseph visited France and was personally acquainted with Rousseau and Turgot. He was heartily opposed to the monks. "The principles of monasticism," he declared, "are in flat contradiction to human reason; monks are the most useless and dangerous subjects that a country can possess." He particularly objected to those orders whose members devoted themselves to religious contemplation, which he regarded as worse than a waste of time; he consequently abolished some six hundred of their monasteries and used their property for charitable purposes and to establish schools. He appointed the bishops without consulting the Pope and forbade money to be sent to Rome. Marriage was declared to be merely a civil contract and so was taken out of the control of the priests. Lutherans, Calvinists, and other heretics were allowed to worship in their own way.

Joseph II reforms the Church

Joseph II sought to complete his work by attacking the surviving features of feudalism and encouraging the development of manufactures. He freed the serfs in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary, transforming the peasants into

Joseph attacks the survivals of feudalism and encourages manufactures

[1] For Joseph's statement of his views, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 213.

tenants; elsewhere he reduced the services due from them to the lord. He taxed nobles and clergy without regard to their claims to exemption, and supplanted the confused and uncertain laws by a uniform system which is the basis of Austrian law to-day. He introduced a protective tariff and caused a large number of factories to be built. He illustrated his preference for home industries by giving away to the hospitals all the foreign wines in his cellars, and his spirit of economy, by forbidding the use of gold and silver for candlesticks, and prohibiting the burial of the dead in coffins for the reason that this was a waste of wood which might be better employed.

Opposition to Joseph's reforms

Naturally Joseph met opposition on every hand. The clergy abhorred him as an oppressor, and all who were forced to sacrifice their old privileges did what they could to frustrate his reforms, however salutary they might be. The Netherlands, which he proposed to transform into an Austrian province, finally followed the example of the American colonies and declared themselves independent in 1790. The same year Joseph died, a sadly disappointed man, having been forced to undo almost all that he had hoped to accomplish.

Revolt of the Austrian Netherlands (1790)

Summary of the activities of the benevolent despots

It has become clear, as we have reviewed the activities of these benevolent despots, that all of them were chiefly intent upon increasing their own power; they were more despotic than they were benevolent. They opposed the interference of the Pope and brought the clergy under their own control. In some cases they took a portion of the property of the churches and monasteries. They tried to improve the laws and do away with the existing contradictions and obscurities. They endeavored to "centralize" the administration and to place all the power in the hands of their own officials instead of leaving it with the nobles or the old local assemblies. They encouraged agriculture, commerce, and industries in various ways. All these measures were undertaken primarily with a view to strengthening the autocratic power of the ruler and augmenting

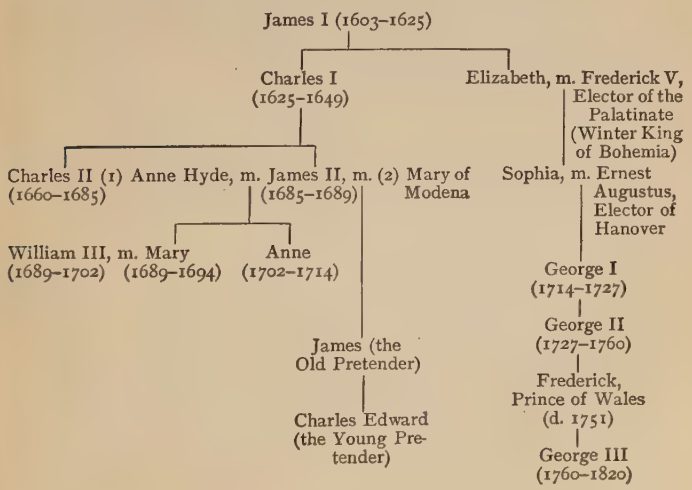
the revenue and the military strength of his government, for none of these energetic monarchs showed any willingness to admit the people to a share in the government, and only Joseph II ventured to attempt to free the serfs.

Peculiarities of the English Government in the Eighteenth Century [1]

The overthrow of absolutism in England

9. The government of England in the eighteenth century differed in many respects from that which prevailed across the channel. This difference is to be ascribed largely to the development of a parliament representing the nobility, the clergy, the landed gentry of the counties, and the burgesses of the towns. As we have seen in the first volume, the attempts of the Stuart monarchs to set up an absolute system of government in the early part of the seventeenth century led to resistance in Parliament, and then to a Revolution in which Charles I lost his head. It is true that the Stuart line, represented by Charles II, was restored to the throne in 1660; but the English

[1] English monarchs from James I to George III.


James I (1603–1625)
Charles I (1625–1649)
Elizabeth, m. Frederick V, Elector of the Palatinate (Winter King of Bohemia)
Charles II (1660–1685)
(1) Anne Hyde, m. James II, (1685–1689)
m. (2) Mary of Modena
Sophia, m. Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover
William III, m. Mary (1689–1702) (1689–1694)
Anne (1702–1714)
George I (1714–1727)
George II (1727–1760)
James (the Old Pretender)
Frederick, Prince of Wales (d. 1751)
Charles Edward (the Young Pretender)
George III (1760–1820)

made perfectly clear their determination not to tolerate despotic conduct on the part of their kings by expelling from the country, in 1688, James II, and calling to the throne William and Mary.

English constitutional principles

To make doubly sure of their safeguards against arbitrary power, Parliament required William and Mary to agree to certain principles of government, practically as a condition to their receiving the crown. These principles were embodied in the Bill of Rights (December, 1689), which forbade the king to suspend or dispense with the laws of the realm, lay taxes without parliamentary grant, keep a standing army without the consent of Parliament, interfere with freedom of speech and debate in Parliament, impose excessive fines or cruel and unusual punishments, or prevent the subjects of the realm from respectfully petitioning the throne. By this great act "the fundamental rights of British subjects" were firmly established in the law and placed beyond the arbitrary power of kings.

Frederick the Great and Louis XV, however, could fix the amount of the taxes and decide who should pay them without asking the consent, or even the advice, of any of their subjects. They could borrow all the money that the bankers would lend them and spend it as they pleased, without giving any account of it. The English king, on the contrary, could impose no taxes and borrow no money on the national credit without the sanction of Parliament; and a definite sum was assigned to him as an allowance with which to keep up his royal establishment, defray his personal expenses, and pay the salaries of important government officials.

Parliament controls lawmaking

The benevolent despots, as we have seen, made any change they wished in the laws by a simple edict. In England the king could neither issue a new law nor suspend an old one without the consent of Parliament. Even the right which he had formerly enjoyed to veto the bills passed by Parliament fell into disuse and was exercised for the last time by Queen Anne in 1707.

The king of England did not control the courts of law

On the Continent the monarch could remove judges who made decisions which did not please him. In England, since 1701, the judges have held their positions during good behavior, unless removed on request of both houses of Parliament. The English king could not arbitrarily arrest his subjects or call before his own council, to be decided by himself personally, cases which were being tried in the regular courts. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 provided that any one who was arrested should be informed of the reason and should be speedily tried by a regular tribunal and dealt with according to the law of the land. In France there were none of these restrictions placed upon the king, who could arrest his subjects on *lettres de cachet*, imprison them indefinitely without assigning a reason, and could interfere in any suit and decide it as he chose.

Contrast between the English Parliament and similar bodies on the Continent

The English Parliament, which had originated in the thirteenth century, was by no means unique in the Middle Ages. For example, we find the ruler of Aragon summoning an assembly of nobles, clergy, and "rich men" as early as 1162. In 1255 the representatives of the cities appeared in the diet of the Holy Roman Empire along with the various princes and prelates. In France, about 1300, the Estates General had come to be made up of representatives of the three classes of the realm, — nobles, clergy, and the "third estate," or townspeople.

The two houses of Parliament

But all these bodies, and others of the same kind, gradually lost all their importance, with the sole exception of the English Parliament. This had from the middle of the fourteenth century consisted of two houses. The higher nobility — dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons — sat, together with the prelates,— archbishops, bishops, and abbots,[1] — in the House of Lords. Accordingly the representatives of the nobles and the clergy were not separated, as they often were on the Continent. In the second chamber, the House of Commons, there were not only representatives of the towns but those chosen by

[1] The abbots disappeared when Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries.

the landed proprietors of the counties,— thus giving the lesser landholders a voice in the nation's councils.[1]

The House of Commons represented only a small part of the nation

Remarkable as was the English Parliament in the eighteenth century, in its organization and its power to control the king, it nevertheless represented only a small part of the nation. In the Middle Ages, when the towns were small and the country population tolerably evenly scattered, the House of Commons fairly represented the property owners throughout England. But as time went on no effort was made to readjust the apportionment to meet the changes which gradually took place. Many towns dwindled away, some disappeared altogether, and the lords upon whose lands they had been situated came to control the choice of those members of the House of Commons who represented these so-called "rotten boroughs." On the other hand, great towns like Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds grew up, which had no representatives. As a result the great majority of the English people had no more share in the government than the subjects of Louis XV. In 1768 there were only one hundred and sixty thousand voters, although the whole population of Great Britain amounted to some eight millions; that is to say, about one in every ten adult males had a voice in the government. Moreover, no poor man could sit in Parliament, since all members were required to hold considerable land.[2]

Origin of the Tories and Whigs

Despite the small number who could actually participate in the choice of representatives, political questions were hotly discussed among the upper classes, who were divided into two well-defined parties, Tories and Whigs. These owed their origin to the excitement of the Civil War, when those who supported Charles I were called Cavaliers and those who opposed him, Roundheads. During the latter years of Charles II,

[1] The lower clergy was not represented in Parliament as it was in the Estates General. For a time its representatives met and voted the taxes that they were to pay, but after 1664 the assembly confined itself exclusively to religious matters.

[2] For a fuller description of the parliamentary system and its reform, see below, chap. xix.

the former party, which upheld the divine right of kings and the supremacy of the Anglican Church, received the name of "Tory." Their opponents, who advocated the supremacy of Parliament and championed toleration for the Dissenters, came to be called Whigs.[1]

Whig supremacy in the early eighteenth century

After the death of Anne many of the Tories favored calling to the throne the son of James II (popularly called "the old Pretender"), whereupon the Whigs succeeded in discrediting their rivals by denouncing them as Jacobites [2] and traitors. They made the new Hanoverian king, George I, believe that he owed everything to the Whigs, and for a period of nearly fifty years, under George I and George II, they were able to control Parliament. George I himself spoke no English, was ignorant of English politics, and was much more interested in Hanover than in his new kingdom. He did not attend the meetings of his ministers, as his predecessors had done, and turned over the management of affairs to the Whig leaders. They found a skillful "boss" and a judicious statesman in Sir Robert Walpole, who maintained his own power and that of his party by avoiding war and preventing religious dissensions at home. He used the king's funds to buy the votes necessary to maintain the Whig majority in the House of Commons and to get his measures through that body. He was England's first "prime minister."

Robert Walpole, prime minister (1721–1742)

Origin of the cabinet

The existence of two well-defined political parties standing for widely different policies forced the king to choose all his ministers from either one or the other. The more prominent among his advisers came gradually to form a little group who resigned together if Parliament refused to accept the measures they advocated. So the English rulers from the time of William III were generally compelled to select their ministers from the party which had a majority in Parliament; otherwise their plans would be pretty sure to be frustrated. In this way "cabinet

[1] Not until after the reform of 1832 did the Tories become "Conservatives" and the Whigs assume the name of "Liberals."

[2] This name applied to the supporters of James is derived from the Latin form of his name, *Jacobus*.

government" originated, that is, government by a small group of the heads of departments (like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, etc.), who belong to the party which has a majority in Parliament, or at least in the House of Commons, and who resign together when the House votes down any important measure which they propose.

King George III bribes the Commons when necessary

Nevertheless after Walpole's fall in 1742 cabinet government did not flourish for a generation or so, especially under George III, who came to the throne in 1760, for he proposed to follow his mother's advice, "George, be king." Indeed, many thoughtful men felt that Walpole had been what we should call nowadays a corrupt boss, and accordingly they encouraged the king to keep the government in his own hands. During the war with the American colonies George III was practically his own prime minister and freely resorted to rather high-handed methods.

Growing demand for reform

However, the day when the king could rule as he pleased was passed; and there was no little discontent with the monopoly which the landed gentry and the rich enjoyed in Parliament. There was an increasing number of writers to point out to the people the defects in the English system. They urged that every man should have the right to participate in the government by casting his vote, and that the constitution should be written and so made clear and unmistakable. Political clubs were founded, which entered into correspondence with political societies in France; newspapers and pamphlets poured from the press in enormous quantities, and political reform found champions in the House of Commons. Even so influential a politician as

The younger Pitt

the younger Pitt, who was prime minister from 1783 to 1801, introduced bills into the House of Commons for remedying some inequalities in representation. But the violence and disorder which accompanied the French Revolution involved England in a long and tedious war and discredited reform with Englishmen who had formerly favored change, to say nothing of the Tories, who regarded with horror any proposal to modify the venerated English constitution.

England had already the elements of a modern free government, but the political system was not democratic

It is clear that England possessed the elements of a modern free government, for her king was master neither of the persons nor the purses of his subjects, nor could he issue arbitrary laws. Political affairs were discussed in newspapers and petitions, so that weighty matters of government could not be decided secretly in the king's closet without the knowledge of his subjects. Nevertheless it would be far from correct to regard the English system as democratic. The mass of the people had no political rights whatever; an hereditary House of Lords could block any measure introduced in the House of Commons; and the House of Commons itself represented not the nation but a small minority of landowners and traders. Government offices were monopolized by members of the Established Church, and the poor were oppressed by cruel criminal laws administered by officials chosen by the king. Workingmen were prohibited from forming associations to promote their interests. It was more than a century after the accession of George III before the English peasant could go to the ballot box and vote for members of Parliament.

REFERENCES

Voltaire: LOWELL, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, pp. 51–69; MORLEY, *Voltaire.*

Montesquieu: LOWELL, pp. 126–153; SOREL, *Montesquieu* (in the Great French Writers Series).

Rousseau: LOWELL, pp. 274–321; MORLEY, *Rousseau.*

The Encyclopædia: PERKINS, *France under Louis XV*, Vol. II, pp. 437–446; LOWELL, pp. 243–260; MORLEY, *Diderot and the Encyclopædists*, Vol. I.

Criminal Law in France: LOWELL, pp. 107–118.

Criminal Law in England: LECKY, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II, chap. iv, pp. 126–138; Vol. II, chap. xxi, pp. 315–347.

The French Economists: PERKINS, Vol. II, pp. 424–437; SAY, *Turgot* (in the Great French Writers Series).

Adam Smith: HIRST, *Adam Smith* (in the English Men of Letters Series).

Frederick the Great: HENDERSON, *A Short History of Germany*, Vol. II, chap. v, pp. 182–218

Reforms of Catharine the Great: RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, Vol. II, chap. x, pp. 203–220.

Joseph II and Austria: FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 15–20; HASSALL, *Balance of Power* (European History, 1715–1789), pp. 357–366.

Charles III of Spain: HASSALL, pp. 287–289.

Dissolution of the Jesuit Order: HASSALL, pp. 294–301; PERKINS, *France under Louis* XV, Vol. II, pp. 206–225.

Walpole and the Cabinet System: MORLEY, *Walpole* (English Statesmen Series), pp. 139–165; LECKY, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I, chap. iii, pp. 364–437.

The English Parliament: LECKY, Vol. II, chap. iv, pp. 45–63; MAY, *Constitutional History of England*, chaps. v and vi.

Political Parties in England: LECKY, Vol. I, chap. ii, pp. 212–270; MAY, chap. viii.

CHAPTER III

RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA BECOME EUROPEAN POWERS

Peter the Great plans to make Russia a European Power

10. Among the most conspicuous of the benevolent despots of whom we have spoken were Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catharine the Great of Russia. While much was said in the previous volume of France, England, Spain, the Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Italian states, it was not necessary hitherto to speak of Russia and Prussia. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these states, however, played a great part in European affairs, and in order to understand how they grew up, we must turn from the Rhine and the Pyrenees to the shores of the Baltic and the vast plains of eastern Europe. While the long War of the Spanish Succession had been in progress, due to Louis XIV's anxiety to add Spain to the possessions of his family, another conflict was raging in the north, and changes were taking place there comparable in importance to those which were ratified by the Peace of Utrecht. Russia, which had hitherto faced eastward, was turning toward the west, upon which she was destined to exert an ever-increasing influence. The newly founded kingdom of Prussia was gathering its forces for a series of brilliant military exploits under the leadership of Frederick the Great.

The Slavic peoples of Europe and the extent of Russia

There has been no occasion in dealing with the situation in western Europe to speak heretofore of the Slavic peoples to which the Russians, as well as the Poles, Bohemians, Bulgarians, and other nations of eastern Europe belong, although together they constitute the most numerous race in Europe. Not until

the opening of the eighteenth century did Russia begin to take an active part in western affairs. Now she is one of the most important factors in the politics of the world. Of the realms of the Tsar, that portion which lies in Europe exceeds in extent the territories of all the other rulers of the Continent put together, and yet European Russia comprises scarcely a quarter of the Tsar's whole dominion, which embraces northern and central Asia, extends to the Pacific Ocean, and forms all together an empire covering about three times the area of the United States.

Beginnings of Russia

The beginnings of the Russian state fall in the ninth century; some of the Northmen invaded the districts to the east of the Baltic, while their relatives were causing grievous trouble in France and England. It is generally supposed that one of their leaders, Rurik, was the first to consolidate the Slavic tribes about Novgorod into a sort of state in 862. Rurik's successor extended the bounds of the new empire so as to include the important town of Kiev on the Dnieper. The word "Russia" is probably derived from *Rous*, the name given by the neighboring Finns to the Norman adventurers. Before the end of the tenth century the Greek form of Christianity was introduced and the Russian ruler was baptized. The frequent intercourse with Constantinople might have led to rapid advance in civilization had it not been for a great disaster which put Russia back for centuries.

The Tartar invasion in the thirteenth century

Russia is geographically nothing more than an extension of the vast plain of northern Asia, which the Russians were destined finally to conquer. It was therefore exposed to the great invasion of the Tartars, or Mongols, who swept in from the East in the thirteenth century. The powerful Tartar ruler, Genghis Khan (1162–1227), conquered northern China and central Asia, and the mounted hordes of his successors crossed into Europe and overran Russia, which had fallen apart into numerous principalities. The Russian princes became the dependents of the great Khan, and had frequently to seek his far-distant court, some three thousand miles away, where he freely disposed of both their crowns and their heads. The

Tartars exacted tribute of the Russians, but left them undisturbed in their laws and religion.

Influence of the Tartar occupation on manners and customs

Of the Russian princes who went to prostrate themselves at the foot of the Great Khan's throne, none made a more favorable impression upon him than did the prince of Moscow, in whose favor the Khan was wont to decide all cases of dispute between the prince and his rivals. When the Mongol power had begun to decline in strength and the princes of Moscow had grown stronger, they ventured, in 1480, to kill the Mongol ambassadors sent to demand tribute, and thus freed themselves from the Mongol yoke. But the Tartar occupation had left its mark, for the princes of Moscow imitated the Khans rather than the western rulers, of whom, in fact, they knew nothing. In 1547 Ivan the Terrible assumed the Asiatic title of Tsar,[1] which appeared to him more worthy than that of king or emperor. The costumes and etiquette of the court were also Asiatic. The Russian armor suggested that of the Chinese, and their headdress was a turban. It was the task of Peter the Great to Europeanize Russia.

Ivan the Terrible assumes the title of Tsar

Peter the Great (1672–1725)

At the time of Peter's accession, Russia, which had grown greatly under Ivan the Terrible and other enterprising rulers, still had no outlet to the sea. In manners and customs the kingdom was Asiatic, and its government was that of a Tartar prince. Peter had no quarrel with the despotic power which fell to him and which the Russian monarchs still exercise. But he knew that Russia was very much behind the rest of Europe, and that his crudely equipped soldiers could never make head against the well-armed and disciplined troops of the West. He had no seaport and no ships, without which Russia could never hope to take part in the world's affairs. His two great tasks were, therefore, to introduce western habits and to "make a window," as he expressed it, through which Russia might look abroad.[2]

[1] The title Tsar, or Czar, was formerly supposed to be connected with Cæsar (German, *Kaiser*), i.e. emperor, but this appears to have been a mistake.

[2] For contemporary accounts of Peter and his works, see *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 57 ff.

Peter's travels in Europe

In 1697–1698, when the western powers were enjoying the peace concluded at Ryswick, Peter himself visited Germany, Holland, and England, with a view to investigating every art and science of the West, as well as the most approved methods of manufacture, from the making of a man-of-war to the etching of an engraving. Nothing escaped the keen eyes of this rude, half-savage northern giant. For a week he put on the wide breeches of a Dutch laborer and worked in the shipyard at Saardam near Amsterdam. In England, Holland, and Germany he engaged artisans, scientific men, architects, ship captains, and those versed in artillery and the training of troops, all of whom he took back with him to aid in the reform and development of Russia.

Suppression of revolt against foreign ideas

He was called home by the revolt of the royal guard, who had allied themselves with the very large party of nobles and churchmen who were horrified at Peter's desertion of the habits and customs of his forefathers. They hated what they called "German ideas," such as short coats, tobacco smoking, and beardless faces. The clergy even suggested that Peter was perhaps Antichrist. Peter took a fearful revenge upon the rebels, and is said to have himself cut off the heads of many of them.

Peter's reform measures

Peter's reforms extended through his whole reign. He made his people give up their cherished oriental beards and long flowing garments. He forced the women of the better class, who had been kept in a sort of oriental harem, to come out and meet the men in social assemblies, such as were common in the West. He invited foreigners to settle in Russia, and insured them protection, privileges, and the free exercise of their religion. He sent young Russians abroad to study. He reorganized the government officials on the model of a western kingdom, and made over his army in the same way.[1]

Founding of a new capital, St. Petersburg

Finding that the old capital of Moscow clung persistently to its ancient habits, he prepared to build a new capital for his new Russia. He selected for this purpose a bit of territory

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 61 ff.

PETER THE GREAT WATCHING THE PROCEDURE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN ENGLAND

He was taken to the roof one night where he could get a clear view of the House

on the Baltic which he had conquered from Sweden, — very marshy, it is true, — where he hoped to construct Russia's first real port. Here he built St. Petersburg at enormous expense and colonized it with Russians and foreigners.

The military prowess of Charles XII of Sweden

In his ambition to get to the sea, Peter naturally collided with Sweden, to which the provinces between Russia and the Baltic belonged. Never had Sweden, or any other country, had a more warlike king than the one with whom Peter had to contend, — the youthful prodigy, Charles XII. When Charles came to the throne in 1697 he was only fifteen years old, and it seemed to the natural enemies of Sweden an auspicious time to profit by the supposed weakness of the boy ruler. So a union was formed between Denmark, Poland, and Russia, with the object of increasing their territories at Sweden's expense. But Charles turned out to be a second Alexander the Great in military prowess. He astonished Europe by promptly besieging Copenhagen and forcing the king of Denmark to sign a treaty of peace. He then turned like lightning against Peter, who was industriously besieging Narva, and with eight thousand Swedes wiped out an army of fifty thousand Russians (1700). Lastly he defeated the king of Poland.

Defeat and death of Charles XII

Though Charles was a remarkable military leader, he was a foolish ruler. He undertook to wrest Poland from its king, to whom he attributed the formation of the league against him. He had a new king crowned at Warsaw, whom he at last succeeded in getting recognized. He then turned his attention to Peter, who had meanwhile been conquering the Baltic provinces. This time fortune turned against the Swedes. The long march to Moscow proved as fatal to them as to Napoleon a century later, Charles XII being totally defeated in the battle of Pultowa (1709). He fled to Turkey, where he spent some years in vainly urging the Sultan to attack Peter. Returning at last to his own kingdom, which he had utterly neglected for years, he was killed in 1718 while besieging a town.

Russia acquires the Baltic provinces and attempts to get a footing on the Black Sea

Soon after Charles's death a treaty was concluded between Sweden and Russia by which Russia gained Livonia, Esthonia, and the other Swedish provinces at the eastern end of the Baltic. Peter had made less successful attempts to get a footing on the Black Sea. He had first taken Azof, which he soon lost during the war with Sweden, and then several towns on the Caspian. It had become evident that if the Turks should be driven out of Europe, Russia would be a mighty rival of the western powers in the division of the spoils.

For a generation after the death of Peter the Great, Russia fell into the hands of incompetent rulers. It appears again as a European state when the great Catharine II, of whose reforms we have already spoken above, came to the throne in 1762. From that time on, the western powers had always to consider the vast Slavic empire in all their great struggles. They had also to consider a new kingdom in northern Germany, Prussia, which was just growing into a great power as Peter began his work.

Rise of Prussia

The House of Hohenzollern

11. The electorate of Brandenburg had figured on the map of Europe for centuries, and there was no particular reason to suppose that it was one day to become the dominant state in Germany. Early in the fifteenth century the old line of electors had died out, and the impecunious Emperor Sigismund had sold the electorate to a hitherto inconspicuous house, the Hohenzollerns, who are known to us now through such names as those of Frederick the Great, William I, the first German emperor, and his grandson, the present emperor. While it has always been the pride of the Hohenzollern family that practically every one of its reigning members has added something to what his ancestors handed down to him, nothing need be said of the earlier little annexations; no great extension took place until 1614, when the elector of Brandenburg inherited Cleves and Mark, and thus got his first hold on the Rhine district.

Prussia acquired by the elector of Brandenburg

What was quite as important, he won, four years later, far to the east, the duchy of Prussia, which was separated from Brandenburg by Polish territory. Prussia was originally the name of a region on the Baltic inhabited by heathen Slavs. These had been conquered in the thirteenth century by one of the orders of crusading knights, who, when the conquest of the Holy Land was abandoned, looked about for other occupations. The region filled up with German colonists, but it came under the sovereignty of the neighboring kingdom of Poland, whose ruler annexed the western half of the territory of the Teutonic Order, as the German knights were called. In Luther's day (1525) the knights accepted Protestantism and dissolved their order. They then formed their lands into the duchy of Prussia and made their Grand Master, who was a relative of the elector of Brandenburg, their first duke, under the suzerainty of the king of Poland. About a hundred years later (1618) this branch of the Hohenzollerns died out, and the duchy then fell to the elector of Brandenburg.

The territories of the Great Elector (1640–1688)

Notwithstanding this substantial territorial gain, there was little promise that the hitherto obscure electorate would ever become a formidable power when, in 1640, Frederick William, known as the Great Elector, came to his inheritance. His territories were scattered from the Rhine to the Vistula, his army was of small account, and his authority disputed by powerful nobles and local assemblies. The center of his domain was Brandenburg. Far to the west was Mark, bordering on the Rhine valley, and Cleves, lying on both banks of that river. Far to the East, beyond the Vistula, was the duchy of Prussia, outside the borders of the Empire and subject to the overlordship of the king of Poland.

Character of the Great Elector

Frederick William was, however, well fitted for the task of welding these domains into a powerful state. He was coarse by nature, heartless in destroying opponents, treacherous in diplomatic negotiations, and entirely devoid of the culture which distinguished Louis XIV and his court. He set resolutely

to work to build up a great army, destroy the local assemblies in his provinces, place all government in the hands of his officials, and add new territories to his patrimony.

The Great Elector makes important gains in territory

In all of these undertakings he was largely successful. By shrewd tactics during the closing days of the Thirty Years' War he managed to secure, by the Treaty of Westphalia, the bishoprics of Minden and Halberstadt and the duchy of Farther

Territories of the Great Elector of Brandenburg

Pomerania, which gave him a good shore line on the Baltic. He also forced Poland to surrender her overlordship of the duchy of Prussia and thus made himself a duke independent of the Empire.

Reforms of the Great Elector

Knowing that the interests of his house depended on military strength, he organized, in spite of the protests of the taxpayers, an army out of all proportion to the size and wealth of his dominions. He reformed the system of administration and succeeded in creating an absolute monarchy on the model furnished by his contemporary, Louis XIV. He joined England and Holland in their alliances against Louis, and the army of Brandenburg began to be known and feared.

Huguenots received in Brandenburg

Though a good Protestant, the Great Elector permitted religious freedom to a remarkable degree. He made Catholics eligible to office and, on the other hand, gave asylum to the

persecuted Huguenots of France, even offering them special inducements to settle in his realms. In short, as his illustrious descendant, Frederick the Great, wrote: "He was the restorer and defender of Brandenburg, and an arbiter among his equals. With slight means he did great things; he was his own prime minister and commander in chief and rendered flourishing a state which he found buried beneath its own ruins."

Brandenburg becomes the kingdom of Prussia, 1701

It was accordingly a splendid legacy which the Great Elector left in 1688 to his son, Frederick III, and although the career of the latter was by no means as brilliant as that of his father, he was able by a bold stroke to transform his electorate into a kingdom. The opportunity for this achievement was offered by the need of the powers for his assistance against the designs of Louis XIV. When the Emperor called upon Frederick III in 1700 to assist him in securing a division of the Spanish dominions, the elector exacted as the price of his help the recognition of his right to take the title of king.

Frederick III, elector of Brandenburg, becomes King Frederick I of Prussia

The title King of Prussia was deemed preferable to the more natural King of Brandenburg because Prussia lay wholly without the bounds of the Empire and consequently its ruler was not in any sense subject to the Emperor but was entirely independent. Since West Prussia still belonged to Poland in 1701, the new king satisfied himself at first with the title King *in* Prussia.

Government of Frederick William I (1713–1740)

The second ruler of the new kingdom, Frederick William I, the father of Frederick the Great, is known to history as the rough and boorish barrack king who devoted himself entirely to governing his realm, collecting tall soldiers, drilling his battalions, hunting wild game, and smoking strong tobacco. He ruled his family and his country with an iron hand, declaring to those who remonstrated, "Salvation belongs to the Lord; everything else is my business."[1]

Frederick William and his soldiers

Frederick William was passionately fond of military life from his childhood. He took special pride in stalwart soldiers

[1] For Frederick William's instructions for the education of his son, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 65.

and collected them at great expense from all parts of Europe. He raised the army, which numbered twenty-seven thousand in the days of the Great Elector, to eighty-four thousand, making it almost equal to that maintained by France or Austria. He reserved to himself the right to appoint subordinates as well as high officials in the service, and based promotion on excellence in discipline rather than on family connections. He was constantly drilling and reviewing his men, whom he addressed affectionately as "my blue children."

Miserly economy in finances

Moreover, by wise management, miserly thrift, and entire indifference to the amenities of life, Frederick William treasured up a huge sum of money. He discharged a large number of court servants, sold at auction many of the royal jewels, and had a great portion of the family plate coined into money. Consequently he was able to leave to his son, Frederick II, not only an admirable army but an ample supply of gold. Indeed, it was his toil and economy that made possible the achievements of his far more distinguished son.

The Wars of Frederick the Great

The accession of Frederick and Maria Theresa

12. Frederick II came to the throne in the spring of 1740. In the autumn the Emperor Charles VI died and left his Austrian domains to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, then only twenty-three years old, five years younger than her future rival, the king of Prussia. Her father had no near male relatives to whom the vast Hapsburg possessions would descend after his death; he was very anxious that his daughter should inherit all the Austrian lands, and spent much of his life inducing the more important powers of Europe — Russia, Prussia, Holland, Spain, England, and France — to agree to his plan.

Queenly traits of Maria Theresa

For a time it seemed as if no one was going to take advantage of Maria Theresa's inexperience to rob her of any of her outlying possessions. She began immediately to display astonishing energy and aptitude for the business of governing. She

NORTHEASTERN EUROPE in the time of PETER THE GREAT
0 50 100 200 300 400
SCALE OF MILES
Territory added to Russia by Peter the Great
NOTE: The boundaries of the various powers are of the year of accession of Peter the Great
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
KINGDOM OF POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
TURKISH DOMINIONS
RUSSIA
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
White Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Lake Oneya
Lake Ladoga
Archangel
Dvina
Volga
Ural
Don
Dnieper
Dnieper
Bug
Danube
Vyatka
Perm
Kasan
Nizhni Novgorod
Moscow
Tver
Ryazan
Smolensk
Mohilev
Voronesh
Saratov
Uralsk (Yaik)
Chernigov
Klev
Pultowa
Cherkask
Azov
Astrakhan
Stavropol
Crimea
Bender
Podolia
Bessarabia
Moldavia
Wallachia
Bucharest
Transylvania
Banat
Belgrade
Austrian 1699
Budapest
Vienna
Austria
Bohemia
Prague
Frankfort
Munich
Strassburg
Paris
Brussels
Lyon
Marseille
Milan
Venice
Brest Litovsk
Lublin
Lemberg
Krakow
Klissow
Breslau
Posen
Pultusk
Warsaw
Berlin
Stettin
Thorn
Danzig
Pomerania
Wismar
Copenhagen
Stralsund
Hamburg
Bremen
Holstein
Hanover
Brandenburg
Saxony
Silesia
Lithuania
Königsberg
Grodno
Vilna
Courland
Riga
Dorpat
Pskov
Novgorod
Narva
Reval
Dagoesel
Stockholm
Upsala
Christiania
Bergen
Trondhjem
Frederickshald
Kalmar
Ölland
Gotland
Bornholm
Lund
Skagerrak
Kattegat
Aland Is.
Nystadt
Abo
Helsingfors
Viborg
Ingria
Estonia
Livonia
Peipus L.
Kingdom of Scotland
Kingdom of England
Netherlands
Switzerland
Austrian Pomeranian Possessions
Danube
Dnieper
Bug
Dvina
Memel
Ural
Volga
Don
Kingdom of France
Kingdom of Poland
Longitude 10° East from 15° Greenwich 20°
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS.

patiently attended to all the tiresome matters of state, read long documents and reports, conscientiously consulted her ministers, and conferred with the ambassadors of foreign courts. Her clear judgment, her distinguished bearing, her love of pomp and ceremony, — all helped her to sustain her dignity in the trying circumstances in which she soon found herself. She had none of Frederick's appreciation of culture, and, unlike her son Joseph II, whose reforms have already been described, she exhibited a contempt for science and philosophy. Nor had she any sympathy with religious toleration; on the contrary, she abhorred the sceptical notions of the Prussian king and his admiration for Voltaire.

Polyglot Austrian dominions

The problems which confronted her would have been difficult enough if her realms had been compact and inhabited by people of a single race. The Austrian possessions were, however, as has already been pointed out, a most miscellaneous and scattered collection of territories, great and small, inhabited by a large variety of widely differing races, — Germans in Austria proper, Czechs mixed with Germans in Bohemia and Moravia, Magyars in Hungary, Croatians and Slovenes to the south, Italians in Milan and Tuscany, French and Walloons in the Netherlands. The chief cities of the young queen included such scattered and varied places as Vienna, Pesth, Prague, Milan, Brussels, and Antwerp.

Frederick's attack upon Silesia (1740)

Maria Theresa's dominions soon began to attract the ambitious Frederick, and he determined to rob her of Silesia, a strip of territory lying to the southeast of Brandenburg. He accordingly marched his army into the coveted district, and occupied the important city of Breslau without declaring war or offering any excuse except a vague claim to a portion of the land.[1]

The War of the Austrian Succession

France, stimulated by Frederick's example, joined with Bavaria in the attack upon Maria Theresa. It seemed for a

[1] For Frederick's manifesto on seizing Silesia, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 72. A fuller account of the dreary wars of this period may be found in Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, chap. v.

time as if her struggle to maintain the integrity of her realm would be vain, but the loyalty of all the various peoples under her scepter was roused by her extraordinary courage and energy. The French were driven back, but Maria Theresa was forced to grant Silesia to Frederick in order to induce him to retire from the war. Finally, England and Holland joined in an alliance for maintaining the balance of power, for they had no desire to see France annex the Austrian Netherlands. On the death of the Emperor Charles VII (1745), Maria Theresa's husband, Francis, duke of Lorraine, was chosen emperor. A few years later (1748) all the powers, tired of the war, laid down their arms and agreed to what is called in diplomacy the *status quo ante bellum*, which simply means that things were to be restored to the condition in which they had been before the opening of hostilities.

Frederick promotes the material development of Prussia

Frederick was, however, permitted to keep Silesia, which increased his dominions by about one third of their former extent. He now turned his attention to making his subjects happier and more prosperous, by draining the swamps, promoting industry, and drawing up a new code of laws. He found time, also, to gratify his interest in men of letters, and

Frederick and Voltaire

invited Voltaire[1] to make his home at Berlin. It will not seem strange to any one who knows anything of the character of these two men, that they quarreled after two or three years, and that Voltaire left the Prussian king with very bitter feelings.

The Seven Years' War

Maria Theresa was by no means reconciled to the loss of Silesia, and she began to lay her plans for expelling the perfidious Frederick and regaining her lost territory. This led to one of the most important wars in modern history, in which not only almost every European power joined, but which involved the whole world, from the Indian rajahs of Hindustan to the colonists of Virginia and New England. This Seven Years' War (1756–1763) will be considered in its broader aspects in the next chapter. We note here only the part played in it by the king of Prussia.

[1] See above, pp. 27 ff.

The alliance against Prussia

Maria Theresa's ambassador at Paris was so skillful in his negotiations with the French court that in 1756 he induced it, in spite of its two hundred years of hostility to the House of Hapsburg, to enter into an alliance with Austria against Prussia. Russia, Sweden, and Saxony also agreed to join in a concerted attack on Prussia. Their armies, coming as they did from every point of the compass, threatened the complete annihilation of Austria's rival. It seemed as if the new kingdom of Prussia might disappear altogether from the map of Europe.

Frederick's victorious defense

However, it was in this war that Frederick earned his title of "the Great" and showed himself the equal of the ablest generals the world has seen, from Alexander to Napoleon. Learning the object of the allies, he did not wait for them to declare war against him, but occupied Saxony at once and then moved on into Bohemia, where he nearly succeeded in taking the capital, Prague. Here he was forced to retire, but in 1757 he defeated the French and his German enemies in the most famous, perhaps, of his battles, at Rossbach. A month later he routed the Austrians at Leuthen,[1] not far from Breslau. Thereupon the Swedes and the Russians retired from the field and left Frederick for the moment master of the situation.

Frederick finally triumphs over Austria

England now engaged the French and left Frederick at liberty to deal with his other enemies. While he exhibited marvelous military skill, he was by no means able to gain all the battles in which he engaged. For a time, indeed, it looked as if he might, after all, be vanquished. But the accession of a new Tsar, who was an ardent admirer of Frederick, led Russia to conclude peace with Prussia, whereupon Maria Theresa reluctantly agreed to give up once more her struggle with her inveterate enemy. Shortly afterwards England and France came to terms, and a general settlement was made at Paris in 1763.[2]

[1] For Frederick's address to his officers before the battle of Leuthen, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 80.

[2] See below, p. 78.

Three Partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, and 1795

13. Frederick's success in seizing and holding one of Austria's finest provinces did not satisfy him. The central portions of his kingdom — Brandenburg, Silesia, and Pomerania — were completely cut off from East Prussia by a considerable tract known as West Prussia, which belonged to the kingdom of Poland. The map will show how great must have been Frederick's temptation to fill this gap, especially as Poland was in no condition to defend its possessions.

Mixed population and discordant religions in Poland

With the exception of Russia, Poland was the largest kingdom in Europe. It covered an immense plain with no natural boundaries, and the population, which was very thinly scattered, belonged to several races. Besides the Poles themselves, there were Germans in the cities of West Prussia, and the Lithuanians and Russians in Lithuania. The Jews were very numerous everywhere, forming half of the population in some of the towns. The Poles were usually Catholics, while the Germans were Protestants, and the Russians adhered to the Greek Church. These differences in religion, added to those of race, created endless difficulties and dissensions.

The defective system of government

The government of Poland was the worst imaginable. Instead of having developed a strong monarchy, as her neighbors — Prussia, Russia, and Austria — had done, she remained in a state of feudal anarchy which the nobles had taken the greatest pains to perpetuate by binding their kings in such a way that they had no power either to maintain order or to defend the country from attack. The king could not declare war, make peace, impose taxes, or pass any law without the consent of the diet. As the diet was composed of representatives of the nobility, any one of whom could freely veto any measure,— for no measure could pass that had even one vote against it,— most of the diets broke up without accomplishing anything.

The *liberum veto*

The elective kingship

The kingship was not hereditary in Poland, but whenever the ruler died, the nobles assembled and chose a new one, commonly

a foreigner. These elections were tumultuous, and the various European powers regularly interfered, by force or bribery, to secure the election of a candidate whom they believed would favor their interests.

The Polish nobles and peasants

The nobles in Poland were numerous. There were perhaps a million and a half of them, mostly very poor, owning only a trifling bit of land. There was a saying that the poor noble's dog, even if he sat in the middle of the estate, was sure to have his tail upon a neighbor's land. It was the few rich and powerful families that really controlled such government as might be said to have existed in Poland. There was no middle class except in the few German towns. In the Polish and Lithuanian towns such industry and commerce as existed were in the hands of the Jews, who were not recognized as citizens and who both oppressed and were oppressed. The peasants were miserable indeed. They had sunk from serfs to slaves over whom their lords had the right of life and death.

Catharine II and Frederick II agree on Polish matters, 1764

It required no great insight to foresee that Poland was in danger of falling a prey to her greedy and powerful neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, who clamped in the unfortunate kingdom on all sides. They had long shamelessly interfered in its affairs and had actually taken active measures to oppose all reforms of the constitution in order that they might profit by the existing anarchy. When Augustus III died in 1763, just as the Seven Years' War had been brought to a close, Frederick immediately arranged with the new Russian ruler, the famous Catharine II, to put upon the vacant throne her favorite, Poniatowski, who took the title of Stanislas II.

Russia and Prussia agree to prevent reforms in Poland

Catharine was soon disappointed in Stanislas Poniatowski, who showed himself favorable to reform. He even proposed to do away with the *liberum veto*, — the sacred right of any member of the diet to block a measure no matter how salutary. Russia, however, supported by Prussia, intervened to demand that the *liberum veto*, which insured continued anarchy, should be maintained. Then came several years of civil war

between the several factions, a war in which the Russians freely intervened.

Austria agrees to the partition of Poland

Austria was a neighbor of Poland and deeply interested in her affairs. She consequently approached her old enemy, Frederick, and between them they decided that Russia should be allowed to take a portion of Poland if Catharine would consent to give up most of the conquests her armies had just made in Turkey; then Austria, in order to maintain the balance of power, should be given a slice of Poland, and Frederick should take the longed-for West Prussia.

First partition of Poland, 1772

Accordingly in 1772 Poland's three neighbors arranged to take each a portion of the distracted kingdom. Austria was assigned a strip inhabited by almost three million Poles and Russians, and thus added two new kinds of people and two new languages to her already varied collection of races and tongues. Prussia was given a smaller piece, but it was the coveted West Prussia which she needed to fill out her boundaries, and its inhabitants were to a considerable extent Germans and Protestants. Russia's strip on the east was inhabited entirely by Russians. The Polish diet was forced, by the advance of Russian troops to Warsaw, to approve the partition.[1]

Revival of Poland, 1772–1791

Poland seemed at first, however, to have learned a great lesson from the disaster. During the twenty years following its first dismemberment there was an extraordinary revival in education, art, and literature; the old universities at Vilna and Cracow were reorganized and many new schools established. King Stanislas Poniatowski summoned French and Italian artists and entered into correspondence with the French philosophers and reformers. Historians and poets sprang up to give distinction to the last days of Polish independence. The old intolerance and bigotry decreased, and, above all, the constitution which had made Poland the laughingstock and the victim of its neighbors was abolished and an entirely new one worked out.

[1] Catharine's announcement of the first partition of Poland is in the *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 82.

The new Polish constitution, approved on May 3, 1791, did away with the *liberum veto*, made the crown hereditary, established a parliament something like that of England, — in short, gave to the king power enough to conduct the government efficiently and yet made him and his ministers dependent upon the representatives of the nation.

The new Polish constitution of 1791

There was a party, however, which regretted the changes and feared that they might result in time in doing away with the absolute control of the nobles over the peasants. These opponents of reform appealed to Catharine for aid. She, mindful as always of her own interests, denounced all changes in a government "under which the Polish republic had flourished for so many centuries," and declared that the reformers were no better than the abhorred French Jacobins, who were busy destroying the power of their king.[1] She sent her soldiers and her wild Cossacks into Poland, and the enemies of the new constitution were able with her help to undo all that had been done and to reëstablish the *liberum veto*.

Catharine frustrates the reform

Not satisfied with plunging Poland into her former anarchy, Russia and Prussia determined to rob her of still more territory. Frederick the Great's successor, Frederick William II, ordered his forces across his eastern boundary on the ground that Danzig was sending grain to the French Revolutionists, that Poland was infested with Jacobins, and that, in general, she threatened the tranquillity of her neighbors. Prussia cut deep into Poland, added a million and a half of Poles to her subjects, and acquired the towns of Thorn, Danzig, and Posen.[2] Russia's gains were three millions of people, who at least belonged to her own race. On this occasion Austria was put off with the promises of her confederates, Russia and Prussia, that they would use their good offices to secure Bavaria for her in exchange for the Austrian Netherlands.

Second partition of Poland, 1793

1 See below, p. 255.

2 For Frederick William II's proclamation to the Poles, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 85.

Revolt of Poles under Kosciusco, 1794

At this juncture the Poles found a national leader in the brave Kosciusco, who had fought under Washington for American liberty. With the utmost care and secrecy he organized an insurrection in the spring of 1794 and summoned the Polish people to join his standard of national independence. The Poles who had been incorporated into the Prussian monarchy thereupon rose and forced Frederick William to withdraw his forces.

Third and final partition, 1795

Catharine was ready, however, to crush the patriots. Kosciusco was wounded and captured in battle, and by the end of the year Russia was in control of Warsaw. The Polish king was compelled to abdicate, and the remnants of the dismembered kingdom were divided, after much bitter contention, among Austria, Russia, and Prussia. In the three partitions which blotted out the kingdom of Poland from the map of Europe, Russia received nearly all of the old grand duchy of Lithuania, or nearly twice the combined shares of Austria and Prussia.

REFERENCES

Russia under Peter the Great: WAKEMAN, *European History, 1598–1715*, pp. 298–304; RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, Vol. II, pp. 76–105.

Brandenburg and the Great Elector: WAKEMAN, pp. 173–181, 292–297; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, Vol. II, pp. 9–29; CARLYLE, *Frederick the Great*, Vol. I, Book III, chap. xviii; TUTTLE, *History of Prussia to the Accession of Frederick the Great*, pp. 208–250.

Frederick William, the Father of Frederick the Great: TUTTLE, pp. 337–487; HENDERSON, Vol. II, pp. 87–111; CARLYLE, Vol. I, Book IV, chaps. iii and iv.

Maria Theresa and the First Silesian War: HENDERSON, Vol. II, pp. 123–148; KITCHIN, *History of France*, Vol. III, pp. 409–425; PERKINS, *France under Louis XV*, Vol. I, pp. 164–205, 346–378; BRIGHT, *Maria Theresa*, pp. 1–63.

Walpole and the Spanish War: GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. ix, pp. 732–734; MORLEY, *Walpole*.

Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War: HASSALL, *European History, 1715–1789*, pp. 241–279; KITCHIN, Vol. III,

pp. 445–468; PERKINS, Vol. II, pp. 85–177; HENDERSON, Vol. II, pp. 149–181; BRIGHT, pp. 135–187.

Pitt and the Seven Years' War: GREEN, chap. x, pp. 735–757.

Poland in the Eighteenth Century: RAMBAUD, Vol. II, pp. 184–192; MORFILL, *Poland.*

The Partition of Poland: HASSALL, pp. 312–318; RAMBAUD, Vol. II, pp. 192–197, 232–245; PERKINS, Vol. II, pp. 285–309.

Final Destruction of Poland: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. xvii; STEPHENS, *European History, 1789–1815*, pp. 103–105, 151–153.

Catharine II: RAMBAUD, Vol. II, pp. 183–247; BURY, *Catharine II* (Foreign Statesmen Series).

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN INDIA AND NORTH AMERICA

How Europe began to extend its Commerce over the Whole World

14. The long and disastrous wars of the eighteenth century which we have been reviewing seem, from the standpoint of the changes they produced in Europe, to have been scarcely worth our attention. It was not a vital question in the world's history whether a member of the House of Bourbon or of the House of Hapsburg sat on the throne of Spain, whether Silesia belonged to Frederick or Maria Theresa, or even whether Poland continued to exist or not. But in addition to these contentions among the various dynasties and these shiftings of territory were other interests far beyond the confines of Europe, and to these we must now turn.[1]

The history of Europe only to be explained by the history of Europe's colonies

Constant wars have been waged during the past two centuries by the European nations in their efforts to extend and defend their distant possessions. The War of the Spanish Succession concerned the trade as well as the throne of Spain. The internal affairs of each country have been constantly influenced by the demands of its merchants and the achievements of its sailors and soldiers, fighting rival nations or alien peoples thousands of miles from London, Paris, or Vienna. The great manufacturing towns of England — Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham — owe their prosperity to India, China, and Australia. Liverpool, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, with their long

[1] For a more detailed account of the contest between France and England in India and North America, see Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, chaps. vi and vii.

lines of docks and warehouses and their fleets of merchant vessels, would dwindle away if their trade were confined to the demands of their European neighbors.

Vast extent of the European colonial dominion

Europe includes scarcely a twelfth of the land upon the globe, and yet over three fifths of the world is to-day either occupied by peoples of European origin or ruled by European states. The possessions of France in Asia and Africa exceed the entire area of Europe; even the little kingdom of the Netherlands administers a colonial dominion three times the size of the German Empire. The British Empire, of which the island of Great Britain constitutes but a hundredth part, includes one fifth of the world's dry land. Moreover European peoples have populated the United States, which is nearly as large as all of Europe, and rule all of Mexico and South America.

In this chapter the origin of European colonization will be briefly explained, as well as the manner in which England succeeded in extending her sway over the teeming millions of India. We shall also review England's victory over France in the western hemisphere. In this way the real meaning of the Seven Years' War will become clear.

Narrow limits of the ancient and mediæval world

The widening of the field of European history is one of the most striking features of modern times. Though the Greeks and Romans carried on a large trade in silks, spices, and precious stones with India and China, they really knew little of the world beyond southern Europe, northern Africa, and western Asia, and much that they knew was forgotten during the Middle Ages. Slowly, however, the interest in the East revived and travelers began to add to the scanty knowledge handed down from antiquity.

Colonial policy of Portugal, Spain, and Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The voyages which had brought America and India within the ken of Europe during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were, as we know, mainly undertaken by the Portuguese and Spaniards. Portugal was the first to realize the advantage of extending her commerce by establishing stations in India after Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in

1498;[1] and later by founding posts on the Brazilian coast of South America; then Spain laid claim to Mexico, the West Indies, and a great part of South America. These two powers found formidable rivals in the Dutch; for when Philip II was able to add Portugal to the realms of the Spanish monarchs for a few decades (1580–1640), he immediately closed the port of Lisbon to the Dutch ships. Thereupon the United Provinces, whose merchants could no longer procure the spices which the Portuguese brought from the East, resolved to take possession of the source of supplies. They accordingly expelled the Portuguese from a number of their settlements in India and the Spice Islands, and brought Java, Sumatra, and other tropical regions under Dutch control.

Settlements of the French and English in North America

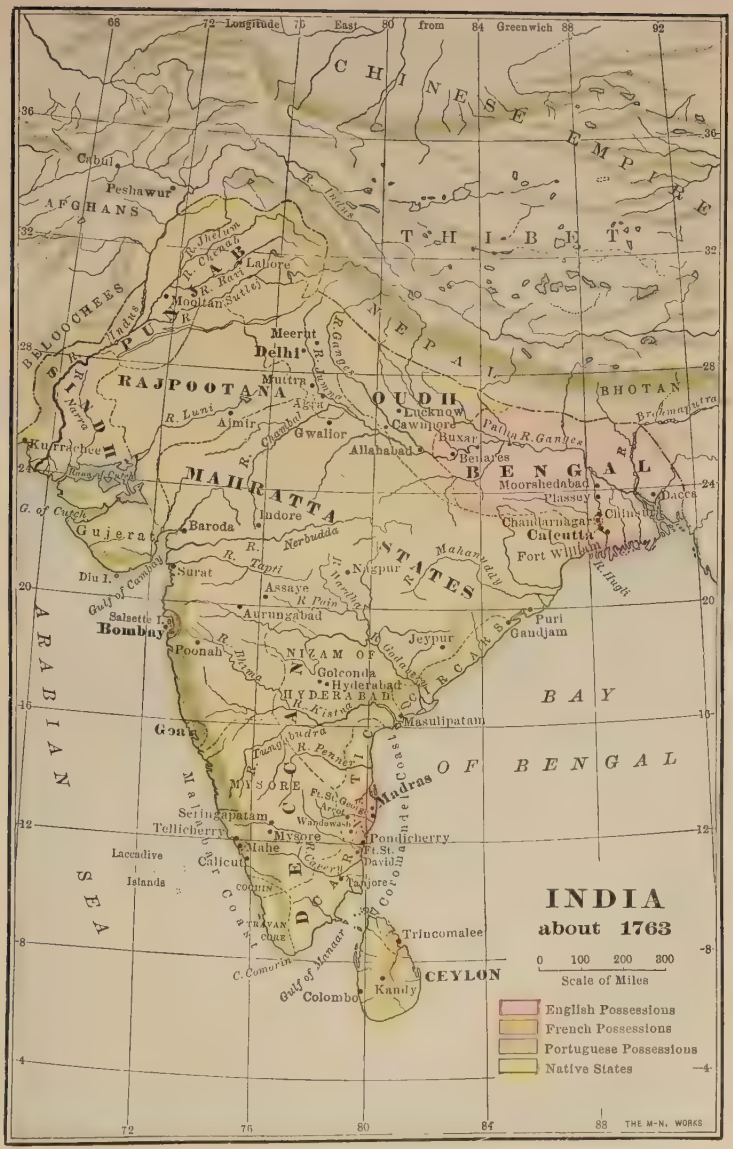
In North America the chief rivals were England and France, both of which succeeded in establishing colonies in the early part of the seventeenth century. Englishmen successively settled at Jamestown in Virginia (1607), then in New England, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. The colonies owed their growth in part to the influx of refugees, — Puritans, Catholics, and Quakers, — who exiled themselves in the hope of gaining the right freely to enjoy their particular forms of religion.[2] On the other hand, many came to better their fortunes in the New World, and thousands of bond servants and slaves were brought over as laborers.

The Contest between France and England for Colonial Empire

15. Just as Jamestown was being founded by the English the French were making their first successful settlement in Nova Scotia and at Quebec. Although England made no attempt to oppose the French occupation of Canada, it progressed very

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 92.

[2] For the settlement of the English and French in North America, see Morris, *The History of Colonization*, Vol. I, chap. x, and Vol. II, chap. xvii; Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, pp. 20–35; also *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 121 ff.


INDIA
about 1763
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles
English Possessions
French Possessions
Portuguese Possessions
Native States
Longitude East from Greenwich
CHINESE EMPIRE
THIBET
NEPAL
BHOTAN
AFGHANS
BELOOCHEES
PUNJAB
SINDH
RAJPOOTANA
OUDH
BENGAL
MAHRATTA STATES
NIZAM OF HYDERABAD
CARNATIC
DECCAN
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Cabul
Peshawur
Lahore
Mooltan
Meerut
Delhi
Muttra
Agra
Ajmir
Gwalior
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Buxar
Benares
Allahabad
Moorshedabad
Plassey
Dacca
Chandarnagar
Calcutta
Fort William
Kurrachee
Baroda
Indore
Surat
Diu I.
Salsette I.
Bombay
Poonah
Assaye
Aurungabad
Nagpur
Puri
Gandjam
Jeypur
Golconda
Hyderabad
Masulipatam
Goa
Madras
Seringapatam
Tellicherry
Mysore
Pondicherry
Mahe
Calicut
Ft. St. David
Tanjore
Trincomalee
Kandy
Colombo
CEYLON
Laccadive Islands
Malabar Coast
Coromandel Coast
Gulf of Manaar
C. Comorin
Gulf of Cambay
G. of Cutch
R. Indus
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
R. Luni
R. Chambal
R. Narra
R. Nerbudda
R. Tapti
R. Mahanuddy
R. Godavery
R. Kistna
R. Tungabudra
R. Penner
R. Cavery
R. Hugli
R. Brahmaputra
Patna R. Ganges
Ft. St. George
Arcot
Wandewash
Cochin
Travancore
Rann of Cutch
THE M-N. WORKS

slowly. In 1673 Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, and Joliet, a merchant, explored a part of the Mississippi River.[1] La Salle sailed down the great stream and named the new country which he entered Louisiana, after his king. The city of New Orleans was founded near the mouth of the river in 1718, and the French established a chain of forts between it and Montreal.

England was able, however, by the Treaty of Utrecht, to establish herself in the northern regions, for France thereby ceded to her Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the borders of Hudson Bay. While the number of English in North America at the beginning of the Seven Years' War is reckoned to have been over a million, the French did not reach a hundred thousand. Yet careful observers at the time were by no means sure that France was not destined to dominate the new country rather than England.

Extent of India

The rivalry of England and France was not confined to the wildernesses of North America, occupied by half a million of savage red men. At the opening of the eighteenth century both countries had gained a firm foothold on the borders of the vast Indian empire, inhabited by two hundred millions of people and the seat of an ancient and highly developed civilization. One may gain some idea of the extent of India by laying the map of Hindustan upon that of the United States. If the southernmost point, Cape Comorin, be placed over New Orleans, Calcutta will lie nearly over New York City, and Bombay in the neighborhood of Des Moines, Iowa.

The Mongolian emperors of Hindustan

A generation after Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape, a Mongolian conqueror, Baber,[2] had established his empire in India. The dynasty of Mongolian rulers which he founded was able to keep the whole country under its control for toward

1 For Marquette's account of his journey, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 116.

2 Baber claimed to be descended from an earlier invader, the famous Timur (or Tamerlane), who died in 1405. The so-called Mongol (or Mogul) emperors were really Turkish rather than Mongolian in origin. A very interesting account of them and their enlightenment may be found in Holden, *The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.00).

two centuries; then after the death of the Great Mogul Arangzebe in 1707, their empire began to fall apart in much the same way as that of Charlemagne had done. Like the counts and dukes of the Carolingian period, the emperor's officials, the subahdars and nawabs (nabobs), and the rajahs — i.e. Hindu princes temporarily subjugated by the Mongols — had gradually got the power in their respective districts into their own hands. Although the emperor, or Great Mogul, as the English called him, continued to maintain himself in his capital of Delhi, he could no longer be said to rule the country at the opening of the eighteenth century when the French and English were beginning to turn their attention seriously to his coasts.[1]

English and French settlements in India

In the time of Charles I (1639), a village had been purchased by the English East India Company on the southeastern coast of Hindustan, which grew into the important English station of Madras. About the same time posts were established in the district of Bengal, and later Calcutta was fortified. Bombay was already an English station. The Mongolian emperor of India at first scarcely deigned to notice the presence of a few foreigners on the fringe of his vast realms. But before the end of the seventeenth century hostilities began between the English East India Company and the native rulers, which made it plain that the foreigners would be forced to defend themselves.

The English had not only to face the opposition of the natives, but of a European power as well. France also had an East India Company, and Pondicherry, at the opening of the eighteenth century, was its chief center, with a population of sixty thousand, of which two hundred only were Europeans. It soon became apparent that there was little danger from the Great Mogul; moreover the Portuguese and Dutch were out of the race, so the native princes and the French and English were left to fight among themselves for the supremacy.

Just before the clash of European rulers, known as the Seven Years' War, came in 1756, the French and English had begun

[1] For accounts of the Moguls, see *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 101 ff.

their struggle for control in both America and India. In America the so-called French and Indian War began in 1754 between the English and French colonists. General Braddock was sent from England to capture Fort Duquesne, which the French had established to keep their rivals out of the Ohio valley. Braddock knew nothing of border warfare, and he was killed and his troops routed.[1] Fortunately for England, France, as the ally of Austria, was soon engaged in a war with Prussia that prevented her from giving proper attention to her American possessions. A famous statesman, the elder Pitt, was now at the head of the English ministry. He was able not only to succor the hard-pressed king of Prussia with money and men, but also to support the militia of the thirteen American colonies. The French forts at Ticonderoga and Niagara were taken in 1758–1759. Quebec was won in Wolfe's heroic attack, and the next year all Canada submitted to the English.[2] England's supremacy on the sea was demonstrated by three admirals, each of whom destroyed a French fleet in the same year that Quebec was lost to France.

England victorious in the struggle for supremacy in America

In India conflicts between the French and the English had occurred during the War of the Austrian Succession. The governor of the French station of Pondicherry was Dupleix, a soldier of great energy, who proposed to drive out the English and firmly establish the power of France over Hindustan. His chances of success were greatly increased by the quarrels among the native rulers, some of whom belonged to the earlier Hindu inhabitants and some to the Mohammedan Mongolians who had conquered India in 1526. Dupleix had very few French soldiers, but he began the enlistment of the natives, a custom eagerly adopted by the English. These native soldiers, whom the English called Sepoys, were taught to fight in the manner of Europeans.[3]

Dupleix and Clive in India

But the English colonists, in spite of the fact that they were mainly traders, discovered among the clerks in Madras a leader

Clive defeats Dupleix

[1] For an account of Braddock's defeat (1755), see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 126.
[2] The battle of Quebec (1759) is described in the *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 128.
[3] See Perkins, *France under Louis XIV*, Vol. I, chap. xi.

equal in military skill and energy to Dupleix himself. Robert Clive, who was but twenty-five years old at this time, organized a large force of Sepoys and gained a remarkable ascendancy over them by his astonishing bravery. Dupleix paid no attention to the fact that peace had been declared in Europe at Aix-la-Chapelle, but continued to carry on his operations against the English. But Clive proved more than his equal, and in two years had very nearly established English supremacy in the southeastern part of India.

Clive renders English influence supreme in India

At the moment that the Seven Years' War was beginning, bad news reached Clive from the English settlement of Calcutta, about a thousand miles to the northeast of Madras. The nawab of Bengal had seized the property of some English merchants and imprisoned one hundred and forty-five Englishmen in a little room, where most of them died of suffocation before morning.[1] Clive hastened to Bengal, and with a little army of nine hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred Sepoys he gained a great victory at Plassey in 1757 over the nawab's army of fifty thousand men. Clive then replaced the nawab of Bengal by a man whom he believed to be friendly to the English. Before the Seven Years' War was over the English had won Pondicherry and deprived the French of all their former influence in the region of Madras.

England's gains in the Seven Years' War

When the Seven Years' War was brought to an end in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris, it was clear that England had gained far more than any other power. She was to retain her two forts commanding the Mediterranean, Gibraltar, and Port Mahon on the island of Minorca; in America, France ceded to her the vast region of Canada and Nova Scotia, as well as several of the islands in the West Indies. The region beyond the Mississippi was ceded to Spain by France, who thus gave up all her claims to North America. In India, France, it is true, received back the towns which the English had taken from her, but she had permanently lost her influence over the native rulers, for Clive had made the English name greatly feared among them.

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 107.

Revolt of the American Colonies from England

16. England had, however, no sooner added Canada to her possessions and driven the French from the broad region which lay between her dominions and the Mississippi than she lost the better part of her American empire by the revolt of the irritated colonists, who refused to submit to her interference in their government and commerce.

For a long period England left her colonies very free

The English settlers had been left alone, for the most part, by the home government and had enjoyed far greater freedom in the management of their affairs than had the French and Spanish colonies. Virginia established its own assembly in 1619 and Massachusetts became almost an independent commonwealth. Regular constitutions developed which were later used as the basis for those of the several states when the colonies gained their independence. England had been busied during the seventeenth century with a great struggle at home and with the wars stirred up by Louis XIV. After the Peace of Utrecht Walpole for twenty years prudently refused to interfere with the colonies. The result was that by the end of the Seven Years' War the colonists numbered over two millions. Their rapidly increasing wealth and strength, their free life in a new land, and the confidence they had gained in their successful conflict with the French, — all combined to render the renewed interference of the home government intolerable to them.

England taxes the colonies

During the war with the French England began to realize for the first time that the colonies had money, and so Parliament decided that they should be required to pay part of the expenses of the recent conflict and support a small standing army of English soldiers. The Stamp Act was therefore passed, which taxed the colonists by requiring them to pay the English government for stamps which had to be used upon leases, deeds, and other legal documents in order to make them binding. But the indignant colonists declared that they had already borne the brunt of the war and that in any case Parliament, in which they

Stamp Act of 1765

were not represented, had no right to tax them. Representatives of the colonies met in New York in 1765 and denounced the Stamp Act as indicating "a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists."

Navigation laws

More irritating than the attempts of Great Britain to tax the colonists were the vexatious navigation and trade laws by which she tried to keep all the benefits of colonial trade and industry to herself. The early navigation laws passed under Cromwell and Charles II were specially directed against the enterprising Dutch traders. They provided that all products grown or manufactured in Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into England or her colonies only in English ships. Thus if a Dutch merchant vessel laden with cloves, cinnamon, teas, and silks from the Far East anchored in the harbor of New York, the inhabitants could not lawfully buy of the ship's master, no matter how much lower his prices were than those offered by English shippers. Furthermore, another act provided that no commodity of European production or manufacture should be imported into any of the colonies without being shipped through England and carried in ships built in England or the colonies. So if a colonial merchant wished to buy French wines or Dutch watches, he would have to order through English merchants. Again, if a colonist desired to sell to a European merchant such products as the law permitted him to sell to foreigners, he had to export them in English ships and even send them by way of England.

Trade laws

What was still worse for the colonists, certain articles in which they were most interested, such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, and indigo, could be sold only in England. Other things they were forbidden to export at all, or even to produce. For instance, though they possessed the finest furs in abundance, they could not export any caps or hats to England or to any foreign country. They had iron ore in inexhaustible quantities at their disposal, but by a law of 1750 they were forbidden to erect any rolling mill or furnace for making steel, in order

that English steel manufacturers might enjoy a monopoly of that trade. The colonists had built up a lucrative lumber and provision trade with the French West Indies, from which they imported large quantities of rum, sugar, and molasses, but in order to keep this trade within British dominions, the importation of these commodities was forbidden.

The colonists evade the English restrictions

The colonists naturally evaded these laws as far as possible; they carried on a flourishing smuggling trade and built up industries in spite of them. Tobacco, sugar, hemp, flax, and cotton were grown and cloth was manufactured. Furnaces, foundries, nail and wire mills supplied pig and bar iron, chains, anchors, and other hardware. It is clear that where so many people were interested in both manufacturing and commerce a loud protest was sure to be raised against the continued attempts of England to restrict the business of the colonists in favor of her own merchants.

Taxes withdrawn except that on tea

Parliament withdrew the unpopular stamp tax, but declared that it had a perfect right to tax the colonies as well as to make laws for them. Soon new duties on glass, paper, and tea were imposed, and a board was established to secure a firm observance of the navigation laws and other restrictions. But the protests of the colonists finally moved Parliament to remove all the duties except that on tea, which was retained to prove England's right to tax the colonists and later used to benefit the English East India Company.

Opposition to "taxation without representation"

The effort to make the Americans pay a very moderate import duty on tea and to force upon Boston markets the company's tea at a low price produced trouble in 1773. The young men of Boston seditiously boarded a tea ship in the harbor and threw the cargo into the water.[1] The objection of the Boston tea merchants who abetted this enterprise was not so much to the tax as to the competition with East India Company merchants which they had to meet. Burke, perhaps the most able

[1] A contemporary account of the "tea party" is given in the *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 130 ff.

member of the House of Commons, urged the ministry to leave the Americans to tax themselves, but George III, and Parliament as a whole, could not forgive the colonists for their opposition. They believed that the trouble was largely confined to New England and could easily be overcome. In 1774 acts were passed prohibiting the landing and shipping of goods at Boston; and the colony of Massachusetts was deprived of its former right to choose its judges and the members of the upper house of its legislature, who were thereafter to be selected by the king.

The Continental Congress

These measures, instead of bringing Massachusetts to terms, so roused the apprehension of the rest of the colonists that a congress of all the colonists was held at Philadelphia in 1774. This congress decided that all trade with Great Britain should cease until the grievances of the colonies had been redressed. The following year the Americans attacked the British troops at Lexington and made a brave stand against them in the battle of Bunker Hill. The second congress decided to prepare for war, and raised an army which was put under the command of George Washington, a Virginia planter who had gained some distinction in the late French and Indian War. Up to this time the colonies had not intended to secede from the mother country, but the proposed compromises came to nothing, and in July, 1776, Congress declared that "these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent."

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

The United States seeks and receives aid from France

This occurrence naturally excited great interest in France. The outcome of the Seven Years' War had been most lamentable for that country, and any trouble which came to her old enemy, England, could not but be a source of congratulation to the French. The United States therefore regarded France as their natural ally and immediately sent Benjamin Franklin to Versailles in the hope of obtaining the aid of the new French king, Louis XVI. The king's ministers were uncertain whether the colonies could long maintain their resistance against the overwhelming strength of the mother country. It was only after the Americans

ENGLAND
FRANCE AND SPAIN
IN AMERICA
1750
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
Scale of Miles
THE M-N. WORKS
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
Hudson Bay
UNEXPLORED
PACIFIC OCEAN
Columbia R.
Colorado R.
Saskatchewan R.
Nelson R.
Severn R.
Lake Winnipeg
RUPERT'S LAND
HUDSON BAY CO.
Albany R.
Moose R.
Gt. Whale R.
E. Main R.
Ruperts R.
Lake of the Woods
Sault Ste. Marie
St. Lawrence R.
Quebec (1608)
Montreal
Ticonderoga
Boston
Plymouth
Providence
New York
Albany
Hartford
Detroit
Ft. Duquesne
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Jamestown (1607)
Wilmington
Charleston
Savannah (1733)
Pensacola
St. Augustine (1565)
New Orleans (1718)
Bahamas
Bermuda Is.
Anticosti I.
St. Johns I.
Cape Breton I.
Halifax
Port Royal (1608)
CANADA OR NEW FRANCE
COLONIES
ENGLISH
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Arkansas R.
Ohio R.
Red R.
Kaskaskia
Vincennes
LOUISIANA
Santa Fe (1598)
NEW SPAIN
Rio Grande
GULF OF MEXICO
Tropic of Cancer
Havana
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
San Domingo
PORTO RICO
Mexico
BELIZE
GUATEMALA
CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
Equator
PERU

had defeated Burgoyne at Saratoga that France, in 1778, concluded a treaty with the United States in which the independence of the new republic was recognized. This was tantamount to declaring war upon England. The enthusiasm for the Americans was so great in France that a number of the younger nobles, the most conspicuous of whom was the Marquis of Lafayette, crossed the Atlantic to fight in the American army.

Close of the war, 1783

In spite of the skill and heroic self-sacrifice of Washington, the Americans lost more battles than they gained. It is extremely doubtful whether they would have succeeded in bringing the war to a favorable close, by forcing the English general, Cornwallis, to capitulate at Yorktown (1781), had it not been for the aid of the French fleet.[1] The chief result of the war was the recognition by England of the independence of the United States, whose territory was to extend to the Mississippi River. To the west of the Mississippi the vast territory of Louisiana still remained in the hands of Spain, as well as Florida, which England had held since 1763 but now gave back.

England acknowledges the independence of the United States

Revolt of the English colonies the beginning of the emancipation of the western hemisphere

Spain and Portugal were able to hold their American possessions a generation longer than the English, but in the end practically all of the western hemisphere, with the exception of Canada, completely freed itself from the domination of the European powers. Cuba, one of the very last vestiges of Spanish rule in the West, gained its independence with the aid of the United States in 1898.

Results in Europe of wars between Treaty of Utrecht and Peace of Paris

The results of the European wars during the seventy years which elapsed between the Treaty of Utrecht and the French Revolution may be summarized as follows. In the northeast two new powers, Russia and Prussia, had come into the European family of nations. Prussia had greatly extended her territory by gaining Silesia and West Poland. She and Austria were, in the nineteenth century, to engage in a struggle for supremacy in Germany, which was to result in substituting the present German empire under the headship of the Hohenzollerns

[1] Cornwallis's account of his surrender is given in the *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 135.

for the Holy Roman Empire, of which the House of Hapsburg had so long been the nominal chief.

Origin of the "eastern question"

The power of the Sultan of Turkey was declining so rapidly that Austria and Russia were already considering the seizure of his European possessions. This presented a new problem to the European powers, which came to be known in the nineteenth century as the "eastern question." Were Austria and Russia permitted to aggrandize themselves by adding the Turkish territory to their possessions, it would gravely disturb the balance of power which England had so much at heart. So it came about that, from this time on, Turkey was admitted in a way to the family of western European nations, for it soon appeared that some of the states of western Europe were willing to form alliances with the Sultan, and even aid him directly in defending himself against his neighbors.

England's colonial possessions

England had lost her American colonies, and by her perverse policy had led to the creation of a sister state speaking her own language and destined to occupy the central part of the North American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. She still retained Canada, however, and in the nineteenth century added a new continent in the southern hemisphere, Australia, to her vast colonial empire. In India she had no further rivals among European nations, and gradually extended her influence over the whole region south of the Himalayas.

English colonial policy

It must not be thought, however, that the loss of the American colonies caused the British government to surrender at once its strict control over the affairs of the remaining domains. On the contrary, for a long time afterward the mother country kept a stricter watch than ever upon her distant provinces. As May points out: "In crown colonies — acquired by conquest or cession — the dominion of the crown was absolute; and the authority of the colonial office was exercised directly by instructions to the governors. In free colonies it was exercised, for the most part, indirectly through the influence of the governors and their councils. Self-government was there in theory;

but in practice the governors, aided by the dominant interests in the several colonies, contrived to govern according to the policy dictated from Downing Street." Nevertheless, as the spirit of local independence grew up in the colonies, this strict régime was relaxed, and open conflicts with colonists were avoided by British statesmen and ministers.

France under Louis XV, 1715–1774

As for France, she had played a rather pitiful rôle during the long reign of Louis XIV's great-grandson, Louis XV (1715–1774). She had, however, been able to increase her territory by the addition of Lorraine (1766) and, in 1768, of the island of Corsica. A year later a child was born in the Corsican town of Ajaccio, who one day, by his genius, was to make France the center for a time of an empire rivaling that of Charlemagne in extent. When the nineteenth century opened France was no longer a monarchy, but a republic; and her armies were to occupy in turn every European capital, from Madrid to Moscow. In order to understand the marvelous transformations produced by the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon, we must consider somewhat carefully the conditions in France which led to a great reform of her institutions in 1789, and to the founding of a republic four years later.

REFERENCES

The Mohammedan Empire in India: HUNTER, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, pp. 132–155; LYALL, *Rise of British Dominion in India*, pp. 32–37, 50–53.

Early Rivalry for the Indian Trade: LYALL, pp. 1–23; HUNTER, pp. 164–175.

Dupleix and French Dominion in India: LYALL, pp. 59–84; PERKINS, *France under Louis XV*, Vol. I, pp. 379–430.

The Seven Years' War in India: LYALL, pp. 85–97; PERKINS, Vol. I, pp. 431–453.

Clive and English Conquests in Bengal: LYALL, pp. 98–111, 130–136; HUNTER, pp. 176–186; COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, pp. 245–247; WILSON, *Clive* (English Men of Action Series).

Warren Hastings as Governor General: LYALL, pp. 157–178; HUNTER, pp. 186–190; LYALL, *Warren Hastings* (English Men of Action Series).

Early English Explorations in America: TYLER, *England in America* (American Nation Series), pp. 1–33; THWAITES, *The Colonies* (Epochs of American History Series), chap. ii, pp. 21–44.

The French in Canada: THWAITES, *The Colonies*, chap. xii, pp. 246–257; *France in America* (American Nation Series), pp. 124–142.

Struggle between England and France: HART, *Formation of the Union* (Epochs of American History Series), pp. 22–41; THWAITES, *France in America*, pp. 157–280.

British Colonial Policy: HART, pp. 44–63; HOWARD, *Preliminaries of the Revolution* (American Nation Series), pp. 22–67, 174–192; LEE, *Source Book of English History*, pp. 474–483.

A Sketch of the American Revolution: HART, pp. 70–101.

CHAPTER V

THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The *Ancien Régime* in France

17. The benevolent despots had not succeeded in ridding Europe of the old institutions and confusion which had come down from the Middle Ages, — indeed, there were many things which they had no desire to change. Even in England little was done in the eighteenth century to meet the most reasonable demands of the reformers. But in 1789 the king of France asked his people to submit their grievances to him and to send representatives to Versailles to confer with him upon the state of the realm and the ways in which the government might be improved so as to increase the general happiness and the prosperity of the kingdom. And then the miracle happened! The French National Assembly swept away the old abuses with an ease and thoroughness which put the petty reforms of the benevolent despots to shame. It accomplished more in a few months than the reforming kings had done in a century; for the kings had never dreamed of calling in their people to aid them. Instead of availing themselves of the great forces of the nation, they had tried to do everything alone by royal decrees, and so had failed.

How the French people accomplished reforms which had foiled the benevolent despots

The unique greatness of the reformation accomplished by the French Assembly is, however, often obscured by the disorder which accompanied it. When one meets the words "French Revolution," he is pretty sure to call up before his mind's eye the storming of the Bastille, the guillotine and its hundreds of victims, and the Paris mob shouting the hymn of the Marseillaise as they parade the streets with the heads of unfortunate "aristocrats" on their pikes. Every one has heard of this

The real French Revolution not to be confused with the Reign of Terror

terrible episode in French history, even if he knows practically nothing of the permanent good which was accomplished at the time. Indeed, it has made so deep an impression on posterity that the Reign of Terror is often mistaken for the real Revolution. It was, however, only a sequel to it, an unhappy accident which will seem less and less important as the years go on, while the achievements of the Revolution itself will loom larger and larger. The Reign of Terror will be explained and described in good time, but it is a matter of far greater importance to understand clearly how the fundamental and permanent reforms were wrought out, and how France won the proud distinction of being the first nation to do away with the absurd and vexatious institutions which weighed upon Europe in the eighteenth century.

Meaning of the term *Ancien Régime*

We have already examined these institutions which were common to most of the European countries, — despotic kings, arbitrary imprisonment, unfair taxation, censorship of the press, serfdom, feudal dues, friction between Church and State, — all of which the reformers had been busy denouncing as contrary to reason and humanity, and some of which the benevolent despots and their ministers had, in a half-hearted way, attempted to remedy. The various relics of bygone times and of outlived conditions which the Revolution abolished forever are commonly called in France the *Ancien Régime* (the old system). In order to see why France took the lead of other European countries in modernizing itself, it is necessary to examine somewhat carefully the particular causes of discontent there. We shall then see how almost every one, from the king to the peasant, came to realize that the old system was bad and consequently resolved to do away with it and substitute a more rational plan of government for the long-standing disorder.

France not a well-organized state in the eighteenth century

Of the evils which the Revolution abolished, none was more important than the confusion due to the fact that France was not in the eighteenth century a well-organized, homogeneous

state whose citizens all enjoyed the same rights and privileges. A long line of kings had patched it together, adding bit by bit as they could. By conquest and bargain, by marrying heiresses, and through the extinction of the feudal dynasties, the original restricted domains of Hugh Capet about Paris and Orleans had been gradually increased by his descendants. We have seen how Louis XIV gained Alsace and Strassburg and some towns on the borders of the Spanish Netherlands, how Louis XV added Lorraine on the death of his father-in-law in 1766. Two years later the island of Corsica was ceded to France by Genoa. So when Louis XVI came to the throne in 1774 he found himself ruler of practically the whole territory which makes up France to-day.

The old provinces of France

Some of the districts which the kings of France brought under their sway, like Languedoc, Provence, Brittany, and Dauphiny, were considerable states in themselves, each with its own laws, customs, and system of government. When these provinces had come, at different times, into the possession of the king of France, he had not changed their laws so as to make them correspond with those of his other domains. He was satisfied if a new province paid its due share of the taxes and treated his officials with respect. In some cases the provinces retained their local assemblies, and controlled, to a certain extent, their own affairs. The provinces into which France was divided before the Revolution were not, therefore, merely artificial divisions created for the purposes of administrative convenience, like the modern French departments,[1] but represented real historical differences.

Various systems of law

While in a considerable portion of southern France the Roman law still prevailed, in the central parts and in the west and north there were no less than two hundred and eighty-five different local codes of law in force; so that one who moved from his own to a neighboring town might find a wholly unfamiliar legal system.

[1] See below, p. 122.

Interior customs lines

Neither was France commercially a single state. The chief customs duties were not collected upon goods as they entered French territory from a foreign country; for the customs lines lay within France itself, so that the central provinces about Paris were cut off from the outlying ones as from a foreign

The Provinces of France in the Eighteenth Century, showing Interior Customs Lines

land. A merchant of Bordeaux sending goods to Paris would have to see that the duties were paid on them as they passed the customs line, and, conversely, a merchant of Paris would have to pay a like duty on commodities sent to places without the line.

The monstrous inequalities in levying one of the oldest and heaviest of the taxes, i.e. the salt tax, still better illustrate

the strange disorder that existed in France in the eighteenth century. The government collected this form of revenue by monopolizing the sale of salt and then charging a high price for it. There would have been nothing remarkable in this had the same price been charged everywhere, but as it was, the

Inequalities of taxation illustrated by the salt tax

Map showing the Amount paid in the Eighteenth Century for Salt in Various Parts of France[1]

people in one town might be forced to pay thirty times as much as their neighbors in an adjacent district. The accompanying map shows how arbitrarily France was divided. To take a single example: in the city of Dijon a certain amount of salt cost seven francs; a few miles to the east, on entering

[1] The figures indicate the various prices of a given amount of salt.

Franche-Comté, one had to pay for the same amount twenty-five francs; a little to the north, fifty-eight francs; to the south, in the region of the little salt tax, twenty-eight francs; while still farther off, in Gex, there was no tax whatever. The government had to go to great expense to guard the boundary lines between the various districts, for there was every inducement to smugglers to carry salt from those parts of the country where it was cheap into the land of the great salt tax.

The privileged classes

Besides these unfortunate local differences, there were class differences which caused great discontent. All Frenchmen did not enjoy the same rights as citizens. Two small but very important classes, the nobility and the clergy, were treated differently by the State from the rest of the people. They did not have to pay one of the heaviest of the taxes, the notorious *taille;* and on one ground or another they escaped other burdens which the rest of the citizens bore. For instance, they were not required to serve in the militia or help build the roads.

The Church

We have seen how great and powerful the mediæval Church was. In France, as in other Catholic countries of Europe, it still retained in the eighteenth century a considerable part of the power that it had possessed in the thirteenth, and it still performed important public functions. It took charge of education and of the relief of the sick and the poor. It was very wealthy and is supposed to have owned one fifth of all the land in France. The clergy claimed that their property, being dedicated to God, was not subject to taxation. They consented, however, to help the king from time to time by a "free gift," as they called it. The Church still collected the tithes from the people, and its vast possessions made it very independent. It will be remembered that those who did not call themselves Roman Catholics were excluded from some of the most important rights of citizenship. Since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes no Protestant could be legally married, or have the births of his children registered, or make a legal will.

The clergy

A great part of the enormous income of the Church went to the higher clergy, — the bishops, archbishops, and abbots. Since these were appointed by the king,[1] often from among his courtiers, they paid but little attention to their duties as officers of the Church and were generally nothing more than "great lords with a hundred thousand francs income." While they amused themselves at Versailles the real work was performed — and well performed — by the lower clergy, who often received scarcely enough to keep soul and body together. This explains why, when the Revolution began, the parish priests sided with the people instead of with their ecclesiastical superiors.

The privileges of the nobility

The privileges of the nobles, like those of the clergy, had originated in the mediæval conditions described in an earlier chapter.[2] A detailed study of their rights would reveal many survivals of the institutions which prevailed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the great majority of the people were serfs living upon the manors. While serfdom had largely disappeared in France long before the eighteenth century, and the peasants were generally free men who owned or rented their land, it was still the theory of the French law that there was "no land without its lord." Consequently the lords still enjoyed the right to collect a variety of time-honored dues from the inhabitants living within the limits of the former manors.

The feudal dues

The privileges and dues enjoyed by the nobles varied greatly in different parts of France. It was quite common for the noble landowner to have a right to a certain portion of the peasant's crops; occasionally he could still collect a toll on sheep and cattle driven past his house. In some cases the lord maintained, as he had done in the Middle Ages, the only mill, wine press, or oven within a certain district, and could require every

[1] According to the agreement made by Francis I with the Pope in 1516. See *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, p. 141.

[2] See above, sect. 3.

one to make use of these and pay him a share of the product. Even when a peasant owned his land, the neighboring lord usually had the right to exact one fifth of its value every time it was sold.

The hunting rights

The nobles, too, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of hunting, which was deemed an aristocratic pastime. The game which they preserved for their amusement often did great damage to the crops of the peasants, who were forbidden to interfere with hares and deer. Many of the manors had great pigeon houses, built in the form of a tower, in which there were one or two thousand nests. No wonder the peasants detested these, for they were not permitted to protect themselves against the innumerable pigeons and their progeny, which spread over the fields devouring newly sown seed. These dovecotes constituted, in fact, one of the chief grievances of the peasants.

Offices at court and in the Church and army reserved for nobles

The higher offices in the army were reserved for the nobles, as well as the easiest and most lucrative places in the Church and about the king's person. All these privileges were vestiges of the powers which the nobles had enjoyed when they ruled their estates as feudal lords. Louis XIV had, as we know, induced them to leave their domains and gather round him at Versailles, where all who could afford it lived for at least a part of the year.

Only a small part of the nobles belonged to old families

Only a small part of the nobility in the eighteenth century were, however, descendants of the ancient and illustrious feudal families of France. The greater part of them had been ennobled in recent times by the king, or had purchased or inherited a government office or judgeship which carried the privileges of nobility with it. This fact rendered the rights and exemptions claimed by the nobility even more odious to the people at large than they would otherwise have been.

The third estate

Everybody who did not belong to either the clergy or nobility was regarded as being of the third estate. The third estate was therefore nothing more than the nation at large, which was made up in 1789 of about twenty-five million souls. The

privileged classes can scarcely have counted altogether more than two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand individuals. A great part of the third estate lived in the country and tilled the soil. Most historians have been inclined to make out their condition as very wretched. They were certainly oppressed by an abominable system of taxation and were irritated by the dues which they had to pay to the lords. They also suffered frequently from local famines. Yet there is no doubt that the evils of their situation have been greatly exaggerated. When Thomas Jefferson traveled through France in 1787 he reports that the country people appeared to be comfortable and that they had plenty to eat. Arthur Young, a famous English traveler who has left us an admirable account of his journeys in France during the years 1787 and 1789, found much prosperity and contentment, although he gives, too, some forlorn pictures of destitution.

Favorable situation of the peasant in France compared with other countries

The latter have often been unduly emphasized by historical writers; for it has commonly been thought that the Revolution was to be explained by the misery and despair of the people, who could bear their burdens no longer. If, however, instead of comparing the situation of the French peasant under the old régime with that of an English or American farmer to-day, we contrast his position with that of his fellow-peasant in Prussia, Russia, Austria, Italy, or Spain, in the eighteenth century, it will be clear that in France the agricultural classes were really much better off than elsewhere on the Continent. In almost all the other European countries, except England, the peasants were still serfs: they had to work certain days in each week for their lord; they could not marry or dispose of their land without his permission. Moreover the fact that the population of France had steadily increased from seventeen millions after the close of the wars of Louis XIV to about twenty-five millions at the opening of the Revolution, indicates that the general condition of the people was improving rather than growing worse.

Rapid increase of population in the eighteenth century

Popular discontent, not the exceptionally miserable condition of the French people, accounts for the Revolution

The real reason why France was the first among the European countries to carry out a great reform and do away with the irritating survivals of feudalism was not that the nation was miserable and oppressed above all others, but that it was sufficiently free and enlightened to realize the evils and absurdities of the old régime. Mere oppression and misery does not account for a revolution; there must also be active *discontent;* and of that there was a great abundance in France, as we shall see. The French peasant no longer looked up to his lord as his ruler and protector, but viewed him as a sort of legalized robber who demanded a share of his precious harvest, whose officers awaited the farmer at the crossing of the river to claim a toll, who would not let him sell his produce when he wished, or permit him to protect his fields from the ravages of the pigeons which it pleased his lord to keep.

France still a despotism in the eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century France was still the despotism that Louis XIV had made it. Louis XVI once described it very well in the following words: "The sovereign authority resides exclusively in my person. To me solely belongs the power of making the laws, and without dependence or coöperation. The entire public order emanates from me, and I am its supreme protector. My people are one with me. The rights and interests of the nation are necessarily identical with mine and rest solely in my hands." In short, the king still ruled "by the grace of God," as Louis XIV had done. He needed to render account to no man for his governmental acts; he was responsible to God alone. The following illustrations will make clear the dangerous extent of the king's power.

The king's control of the government funds

In the first place, it was he who levied each year the heaviest of the taxes, the hated *taille*, from which the privileged classes were exempted. This tax brought in about one sixth of the whole revenue of the State. The amount collected was kept secret, and no report was made to the nation of what was done with it or, for that matter, with any other part of the

king's income. Indeed no distinction was made between the king's private funds and the State treasury, whereas in England the monarch was given a stated allowance. The king of France could issue as many drafts payable to bearer as he wished; the royal officials must pay all such orders and ask no questions. Louis XV is said to have spent no less than seventy million dollars in this irresponsible fashion in a single year.

Lettres de cachet

But the king not only controlled his subjects' purses; he had a terrible authority over their persons as well. He could issue orders for the arrest and arbitrary imprisonment of any one he pleased. Without trial or formality of any sort a person might be cast into a dungeon for an indefinite period, until the king happened to remember him again or was reminded of him by the poor man's friends. These notorious orders of arrest were called *lettres de cachet*, i.e. sealed letters. They were not difficult to obtain for any one who had influence with the king or his favorites, and they furnished a particularly easy and efficacious way of disposing of an enemy. These arbitrary orders lead one to appreciate the importance of the provision of Magna Carta which runs: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned except by the lawful judgment of his peers and in accordance with the law of the land." Some of the most eminent men of the time were shut up by the king's order, often on account of books or pamphlets written by them which displeased the king or those about him. The distinguished statesman, Mirabeau, when a young man, was imprisoned several times through *lettres de cachet* obtained by his father as a means of checking his reckless dissipation.

Limitations on the power of the French king

Yet, notwithstanding the seemingly unlimited powers of the French king, and in spite of the fact that France had no written constitution and no legislative body to which the nation sent representatives, the monarch was by no means absolutely free to do just as he pleased. He had not the time nor inclination to carry on personally the government of twenty-five million subjects, and he necessarily, and willingly, left much of the

work to his ministers and the numerous public officials, who were bound to obey the laws and regulations established for their control and guidance.

The *parlements* and their protests

Next to the king's council the most important governmental bodies were the higher courts of law, the *parlements*. These resembled the English Parliament in almost nothing but name. The French *parlements* — of which the most important one was at Paris and a dozen more were scattered about the provinces — did not, however, confine themselves solely to the business of trying lawsuits. They claimed, and quite properly, that when the king decided to make a new law he must send it to them to be registered, for how, otherwise, could they adjust their decisions to it? Now although they acknowledged that the right to make the laws belonged to the monarch, they nevertheless often sent a "protest" to the king instead of registering an edict which they disapproved. They would urge that the ministers had abused his Majesty's confidence. They would also take pains to have their protest printed and sold on the streets at a penny or two a copy, so that people should get the idea that the *parlement* was defending the nation against the oppressive measures of the king's ministers.

When the king received one of these protests two alternatives were open to him. He might recall the distasteful decree altogether, or modify it so as to suit the court; or he could summon the *parlement* before him and in a solemn session (called a *lit de justice*) command it with his own mouth to register the law in its records. The *parlement* would then reluctantly obey; but as the Revolution approached it began to claim that a decree registered against its will was not valid.

The *parlements* help to prepare the way for the Revolution

Struggles between the *parlements* and the king's ministers were very frequent in the eighteenth century. They prepared the way for the Revolution, first, by bringing important questions to the attention of the people; for there were no newspapers, and no parliamentary or congressional debates, to enable the

public to understand the policy of the government. Secondly, the *parlements* not only frankly criticised the proposed measures of the king and his ministers, but they familiarized the nation with the idea that the king was not really at liberty to alter what they called "the fundamental laws" of the State. By this they meant that there was an unwritten constitution, which limited the king's power and of which they were the guardians. In this way they promoted the growing discontent with a government which was carried on in secret, and which left the nation at the mercy of the men in whom the king might for the moment repose confidence.

Public opinion

It is a great mistake to suppose that public opinion did not exercise a powerful check upon the king, even under the autocratic old régime. It was, as one of Louis XVI's ministers declared, "an invisible power which, without treasury, guards, or an army, ruled Paris and the court, — yes, the very palace of the king." The latter half of the eighteenth century was a period of outspoken and acrid criticism of the whole existing social and governmental system. Reformers, among whom many of the king's ministers were counted, loudly and eloquently discussed the numerous abuses and the vicious character of the government, which gradually came to seem just as bad to the people of that day as it does to us now.

Attempts to check the discussion of public questions

Although there were no daily newspapers to discuss public questions, large numbers of pamphlets were written and circulated by individuals whenever there was an important crisis, and they answered much the same purpose as the editorials in a modern newspaper. We have already seen how French philosophers and reformers, like Voltaire, Diderot, and Montesquieu, had been encouraged by the freedom of speech which prevailed in England, and how industriously they had sown the seeds of discontent in their own country. We have seen how in popular works, in poems and stories and plays, and above all in the *Encyclopædia*, they explained the new scientific discoveries, attacked the old beliefs and misapprehensions, and

encouraged progress. Only the most ignorant could escape their influence altogether.

The censorship of the press serves to advertise the reformers

Sometimes the pamphlets and books treated the government, the clergy, or the Catholic religion with such open contempt that either the king, or the clergy, or the courts felt it necessary to prevent their circulation. The *parlement* of Paris now and then ordered some offensive writing, such as Diderot's *Philosophic Thoughts*, Voltaire's *Handy Philosophic Dictionary*, certain of Rousseau's works, pamphlets defending the Jesuits, etc., to be burned by the common hangman. The authors, if they could be discovered, were in some cases imprisoned, and the printers and publishers fined or banished, but in general the courts satisfied themselves with suppressing the books and pamphlets of which they disapproved. But the attempted suppression only advertised the attacks upon existing abuses, which followed one another in rapid succession. The efforts of the government and the clergy to check free discussion seemed an outrage to the more thoughtful among the citizens, and so rather promoted than prevented the consideration of the weaknesses of the Church and of the king's government.

Economists argue against government restrictions on trade and manufacture

The economists exposed and brought home to the people the many evils of which their new science took note. The unjust system of taxation, which tended to exempt the richer classes from their fair share of the public burdens; the wasteful and irritating methods of collecting the taxes; the interior customs lines, preventing the easy passage of goods from one part of France to another; the extravagance of the king's household; the pensions granted to undeserving persons; every evil of the bungling, iniquitous old régime was brought under the scrutiny of the new thinkers, who tested the existing system by the light of reason and the welfare of the great mass of the people.

The French government, as has already been explained, had been in the habit of regulating manufactures with the hope of maintaining a standard which would insure large and regular

sales in foreign lands and in this way bring money into France. Governmental officials watched those who handled grain, forbade them to accumulate wheat, barley, rye, or bread stuffs, or to make any sales except in the public markets, and required them to report all their transactions to the government. The economists were flatly opposed to this system of regulation. They pointed out that these government restrictions produced some very bad results. They failed to prevent famine, and, in the case of industry, they discouraged new inventions and the adoption of better methods. The economists claimed that it would be far better to leave the manufacturer to carry on his business in his own way.[1]

How Louis XVI tried to play the Benevolent Despot

Death of Louis XV and the accession of Louis XVI (1774)

18. In 1774 Louis XV died, after a disgraceful reign of which it has not seemed necessary to say much. His unsuccessful wars, which had ended with the loss of all his American possessions and the victory of his enemies in India, had brought France to the verge of bankruptcy; indeed in his last years his ministers repudiated a portion of the government's obligations. The taxes were already so oppressive as to arouse universal discontent and yet the government was running behind seventy millions of dollars a year. The king's personal conduct was scandalous, and he allowed his mistresses and courtiers to meddle in public affairs and plunder the royal treasury for themselves and their favorites. When at last he was carried off by smallpox every one hailed, with hopes of better times, the accession of his grandson and successor, Louis XVI.

Character of Louis XVI

The new king was but twenty years old, ill educated, indolent, unsociable, and very fond of hunting and of pottering about in a workshop where he spent his happiest hours. He was a well-meaning young man, with none of his grandfather's

[1] See above, pp. 35 *sqq.*

vices, who tried now and then to attend to the disagreeable business of government, and would gladly have made his people happy if that had not required more energy than he possessed. He had none of the restless interest in public affairs that we found in Frederick the Great, Catharine II, or his brother-in-law, Joseph II; he was never tempted to rise at five o'clock in the morning in order to read State papers.

Marie Antoinette

His wife was the beautiful Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa. The marriage had been arranged in 1770 with a view of maintaining the alliance which had been concluded between France and Austria in 1756. The queen was only nineteen years old when she came to the throne, light-hearted and on pleasure bent. She disliked the formal etiquette of the court at Versailles and shocked people by her thoughtless pranks. She rather despised her heavy husband, who did not care to share in the amusements which pleased her best. She did not hesitate to interfere in the government when she wished to help one of her favorites or to make trouble for some one she disliked.

Turgot, controller general (1774–1776)

At first Louis XVI took his duties very seriously. It seemed for a time that he might find a place among the benevolent despots who were then ruling in Europe. He almost immediately placed the ablest of all the French economists, Turgot, in the most important of the government offices, that of controller general. Turgot was an experienced government official as well as a scholar. For thirteen years he had been the king's representative in Limoges, one of the least prosperous portions of France. There he had had ample opportunity to see the vices of the prevailing system of taxation. He had made every effort to induce the government to better its methods, and had tried to familiarize the people with the principles of political economy. Consequently, when he was put in charge of the nation's finances, it seemed as if he and the conscientious young king might find some remedy for the recognized abuses.

Turgot advocates economy

The first and most natural measure was economy, for only in that way could the government be saved from bankruptcy and the burden of taxation be lightened. Turgot felt that the vast amount spent in maintaining the luxury of the royal court at Versailles should be reduced. The establishments of the king, the queen, and the princes of the blood royal cost the State annually toward twelve million dollars. Then the French king had long been accustomed to grant "pensions" in a reckless manner to his favorites, and this required nearly twelve million dollars more.

How the courtiers governed France

Any attempt, however, to reduce this amount would arouse the immediate opposition of the courtiers, and it was the courtiers who really governed France. They had every opportunity to influence the king's mind against a man whose economies they disliked. They were constantly about the monarch from the moment when he awoke in the morning until he went to bed at night; therefore they had an obvious advantage over the controller general, who only saw him in business hours.[1]

Turgot frees the grain trade and endeavors to teach political economy to the people

Immediately upon coming into power Turgot removed a great part of the restrictions on the grain trade. He prefaced the edict with a very frank denunciation of the government's traditional policy of preventing persons from buying and selling their grain when and where they wished. He showed that this did not obviate famines, as the government hoped that it might, and that it caused great loss and hardship. If the government would only let matters alone the grain would always go to those provinces where it was most needed, for there it would bring the best price. Turgot seized this and every similar opportunity to impress important economic truths upon the minds of the people.

Turgot abolishes the guilds

Early in 1776 Turgot brought forward two edicts which could not fail to rouse much opposition. The first of these abolished the guilds, which he declared exercised "a vast tyranny

[1] See Turgot's letter to the king, August, 1774, in *Readings*, sect. 33.

over trade and industry." In almost all the towns the various trades of the baker, tailor, barber, swordmaker, hatter, cooper, and all the rest, were each in the hands of a small number of masters who formed a union to keep every one else out, and who made such rules as they pleased about the way in which the trade should be conducted. Sometimes only the sons of masters or those who married masters' widows would be permitted to carry on a trade. Employers could not select the workmen they wished. "Often," Turgot declared, "one cannot get the simplest job done without having it go through the hands of several workmen of different guilds and without suffering the delays, tricks, and exactions which the pretensions of the various guilds encourage." The king, therefore, ordered that "it shall be free to all persons of whatever quality or condition they may be, even to all foreigners, to exercise in all our kingdom, and particularly in our good city of Paris, whatever profession or industry may seem good to them." All the guilds were abolished, in spite of those who declared that industry would be ruined as soon as everybody was free to open a shop and offer his goods to the public.

Turgot abolishes the *corvée* and so attacks the privileges of the clergy and the nobility

At the same time Turgot proposed an even more important reform. The government had been accustomed to build and repair the public roads, forcing the peasants to bring out their horses and carts and work for a certain time every year without remuneration. This was of course a form of taxation and was known as the *corvée*. Turgot held that the peasants should not be required to bear this burden and proposed to substitute for it a tax to be paid by the landholders. Both the clergy and nobility hotly opposed this reform on the ground that their privileges exempted them from the *corvée*, which was an ignoble exaction which could fall only upon a peasant. Turgot confessed that his main aim was to begin a great reform of the vicious system of taxation which exempted the privileged classes from the *corvée*, the *taille*, and other contributions which should be borne by everybody according to his capacity.

Turgot's enemies

Turgot forced the *parlement* of Paris to register these edicts; but he had become very unpopular, for each one of his reforms injured a particular class who thereafter became his enemies. The nobles disliked him for substituting the land tax, which fell upon them, for the *corvée*, which only the peasants had borne. The clergy believed him a wicked philosopher, for it was known that he had urged the pious Louis XVI, when he took his coronation oath, to omit the pledge to extirpate heresy from his realms. The tradespeople hated him for doing away with the guilds.

Turgot's position

An Italian economist, when he heard of Turgot's appointment, wrote to a friend in France: "So Turgot is controller general! He will not remain in office long enough to carry out his plans. He will punish some scoundrels; he will bluster about and lose his temper; he will be anxious to do good, but will run against obstacles and rogues at every turn. Public credit will fall; he will be detested; it will be said that he is not fitted for his task. Enthusiasm will cool; he will retire or be sent off, and we shall have a new proof of the mistake of filling a position like his in a monarchy like yours with an upright man and a philosopher."

Turgot dismissed, May, 1776

The Italian could not have made a more accurate statement of the case had he waited until after the dismissal of Turgot, which took place in May, 1776, much to the satisfaction of the court. The king, although upright and well-intentioned, was not fond of the governmental duties to which Turgot was always calling his attention. It was much easier to let things go along in the old way; for reforms not only required much extra work, but they also forced him to refuse the customary favors to those around him. It was not perhaps unnatural that the discontent of his young queen or of an intimate companion should outweigh the woes of the distant peasant.

Turgot's plan for local assemblies

Although the privileged classes, especially the courtiers who had the king's ear and the conservative lawyers in the *parlements*, prevented Turgot from carrying out the extensive

reforms that he had in mind, and even induced the king to restore the guilds and to continue the *corvée*, Turgot's administration nevertheless forwarded the French Revolution. In the preambles to his edicts he carefully explained the nature of the abuses which the king was trying to remedy and so strove to enlist the sympathy of the public. He proposed that the king should form local assemblies to help him in the government, as otherwise too much power was left in the hands of the king's officials. In short, while Turgot was quite satisfied to have a benevolent despot in France so long as the king allowed himself to be led along the path of reform by a wise philosopher and economist, he was anxious to encourage public interest in the policy of the government, and believed it essential to have the people's representatives help in assessing the taxes and in managing local affairs.

Necker succeeds Turgot

Necker, who, after a brief interval, succeeded Turgot, also contributed to the progress of the coming Revolution in two ways. He borrowed vast sums of money in order to carry on the war which France, as the ally of the United States, had undertaken against England. This greatly embarrassed the treasury later and helped to produce the financial crisis which was the immediate cause of the Revolution. Secondly, he gave the nation its first opportunity of learning what was done with the public funds by presenting to the king (February, 1781) a *report* on the financial condition of the kingdom which was publicly printed and eagerly read. There the people could see for the first time how much the *taille* and the salt tax actually took from them, and how much the king spent on himself and his favorites.

Necker's financial report

Calonne, controller general (1783–1787)

Necker was soon followed by Calonne, who may be said to have precipitated the momentous reform which constitutes the French Revolution. He was very popular at first with king and courtiers, for he spent the public funds far more recklessly than his predecessors. But naturally he soon found himself in a position where he could obtain no more money. The

parlements would consent to no more loans in a period of peace, and the taxes were as high as it was deemed possible to make them. At last Calonne, finding himself desperately put to it, informed the astonished king that the State was on the verge of bankruptcy, and that in order to save it a radical reformation of "the whole public order" was necessary. This report of Calonne's may be taken as the beginning of the French Revolution, for it was the first of the series of events that led to the calling of a representative assembly which abolished the old régime and gave France a written constitution.

Calonne informs the king that France is on the verge of bankruptcy, August, 1786

REFERENCES

The Government of Louis XVI: LOWELL, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, pp. 4–24; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. ii, pp. 36–65; MATHEWS, *The French Revolution*, pp. 1–11.

Taxation and Finance: LOWELL, pp. 207–242; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. iii, pp. 66–78.

Agitation by Pamphlets: LOWELL, pp. 322–341.

Lettres de Cachet: PERKINS, *France under Louis XV*, Vol. II, pp. 352–358.

Turgot and Necker: MATHEWS, pp. 92–101; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. iii, pp. 66–78; HASSALL, *Balance of Power*, pp. 405–412; SAY, *Turgot* (Great French Writers Series).

Early Years of Louis XVI's Reign: HASSALL, pp. 401–424; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. iv, pp. 79–98.

CHAPTER VI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

How the Estates General were summoned in 1789

Reforms proposed by Calonne

19. Calonne claimed that it was necessary, in order to avoid ruin, "to reform everything vicious in the State." He proposed, therefore, to reduce the *taille*, reform the salt tax, do away with the interior customs lines, correct the abuses of the guilds, etc. But the chief reform, and by far the most difficult one, was to force the privileged classes to surrender their important exemptions from taxation. He hoped that if certain concessions were made to them they might be brought to consent to a land tax which should be levied on the nobility and clergy as well as on the third estate. So he proposed to the king that he should summon an assembly of persons prominent in Church and State, called "Notables," to ratify certain changes which would increase the prosperity of the country and bring money enough into the treasury to meet the necessary expenses.

Summoning of the Notables, 1786

The summoning of the Notables late in 1786 was really a revolution in itself. It was a confession on the part of the king that he found himself in a predicament from which he could not escape without the aid of his people. The Notables whom he selected — bishops, archbishops, dukes, judges, high government officials — were practically all members of the privileged classes; but they still represented the nation, after a fashion, as distinguished from the king's immediate circle of courtiers.

In his opening address Calonne gave the Notables an idea of the sad financial condition of the country. The government

was running behind some forty million dollars a year. He could not continue to borrow, and economy, however strict, would not suffice to cover the deficit. "What, then," he asked, "remains to fill this frightful void and enable us to raise the revenue to the desired level? *The Abuses!* Yes, gentlemen, the abuses offer a source of wealth which the State should appropriate, and which should serve to reëstablish order in the finances. . . . Those abuses which must now be destroyed for the welfare of the people are the most important and the best guarded of all, the very ones which have the deepest roots and the most spreading branches. For example, those which weigh on the laboring classes, the pecuniary privileges, exceptions to the law which should be common to all, and many an unjust exemption which can only relieve certain taxpayers by embittering the conditions of others; the general want of uniformity in the assessment of the taxes and the enormous difference which exists between the contributions of different provinces and of the subjects of the same sovereign; the severity and arbitrariness in the collection of the *taille;* the apprehension, embarrassment, almost dishonor, associated with the trade in breadstuffs; the interior customhouses and barriers which make the various parts of the kingdom like foreign countries to one another . . . ," — all these evils, which public-spirited citizens had long deprecated, Calonne proposed to do away with forthwith.

Calonne denounces the abuses (February 22, 1787)

The Notables, however, had no confidence in Calonne; most of them were determined not to give up their privileges, and they refused to ratify his program of reform. The king then dismissed Calonne and soon sent the Notables home, too (May, 1787). He then attempted to carry through some of the more pressing financial reforms in the usual way by drawing up edicts and sending them to the *parlements* to be registered.

Calonne and the Notables dismissed

The *parlement* of Paris resolved, as usual, to make the king's ministry trouble and gain popularity for itself. This

The *parlement* of Paris refuses to register new taxes and calls for the Estates General

time it resorted to a truly extraordinary measure. It not only refused to register two new taxes which the king desired, but asserted that "*Only the nation assembled in the Estates General can give the consent necessary to the establishment of a permanent tax.*" "Only the nation," the *parlement* continued, "after it has learned the true state of the finances, can destroy the great abuses and open up important resources." This declaration was followed in a few days by the respectful request that the king assemble the Estates General of his kingdom.

The refusal of the *parlement* to register the new taxes led to one of the old struggles between it and the king's ministers. A compromise was arranged in the autumn of 1787; the *parlement* agreed to register a great loan, and the king pledged himself to assemble the Estates General within five years. During the early months of 1788 a flood of pamphlets appeared, criticising the system of taxation and the unjust privileges and exemptions enjoyed by a few citizens to the detriment of the great mass of the nation.

The *parlement* of Paris protests against the "reform" of the judicial system

Suddenly the *parlement* of Paris learned that the king's ministers were planning to put an end to its troublesome habit of opposing their measures. They proposed to remodel the whole judicial system and take from the *parlement* the right to register new decrees and consequently the right to protest. This the *parlement* loudly proclaimed was in reality a blow at the nation itself. The ministers were attacking it simply because it had acknowledged its lack of power to grant new taxes and had requested the king to assemble the representatives of the nation. The ministers, it claimed, were bent upon establishing an out-and-out despotism in which there should no longer be any check whatever on the arbitrary power of the king.

The *parlement* had long been wont to refer to certain "fundamental laws" which formed a sort of unwritten constitution limiting the powers of the king. It now ventured to

formulate some of these: (1) the right of the nation to grant all taxes voluntarily through their representatives in the Estates General; (2) the right of the provinces which had been annexed to France to retain all the liberties which the king had guaranteed to them when they came under his rule; and the right of the local *parlement* in each of these provinces to examine every edict of the king and refuse to register it if it did not conform to the constitutional laws of the province, or violated its rights; (3) the right of the judges to retain their offices no matter how anxious the king might be to dismiss them; (4) the right of every citizen, if arrested, to be brought immediately before a competent court and only to be tried by the regular judges.

The *parlement* of Paris draws up a Declaration of Rights (May, 1788)

This was a very poor and inadequate sketch of a constitution, but it was a definite protest against allowing the king to become an absolute and uncontrolled despot. According to the new edicts against which the *parlement* of Paris protested, tyrannical ministers might freely make new laws for the whole realm and completely ignore the special privileges which the king had pledged himself to maintain when Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, Brittany, Béarn, Navarre, and other important provinces had originally been added to his kingdom. The cause of the *parlements* seemed the cause of the nation, and their protest contributed to the excitement and indignation which spread throughout France and which was to continue until the whole system of government was completely reformed.

The provinces of France support the *parlements*

When the king's commissioners tried to proclaim the edicts which robbed the *parlements* of their right to register new laws, mobs collected and insulted them. At Rennes, in Brittany, they were besieged by the townspeople and had to be protected by soldiers. At Toulouse the mob tore up the pavement to build barricades and prepared to resist the entry of the commissioners. At Bordeaux the new laws were proclaimed under the protection of bayonets. Everywhere there were protests, usually accompanied by disorder.

Opposition roused in Dauphiny

The most interesting events took place at Grenoble, where the *parlement* of Dauphiny was accustomed to meet. It declared that, if the king persisted in his plan, he would break all the bonds which bound that province to France and that Dauphiny would consider itself entirely freed from the oath of fidelity to him. When the king's officers arrived to punish the *parlement* for its audacious utterances, they found the city ready to defend it. An assembly was convened at

Meeting at Vizille

the neighboring Vizille where representatives of the nobility, clergy, and third estate came together. They denounced the policy of the king's ministers, demanded the speedy convocation of the Estates General, and reiterated the right of the nation to grant all taxes and to be protected from arbitrary punishment. They claimed that they were vindicating the rights of the nation at large, and that they were ready, if necessary, to sacrifice any of their special privileges in the interest of the whole kingdom.

The Estates General summoned for 1789

This demonstration on the part of Dauphiny and similar ones in the other provinces forced the king to dismiss the unpopular ministry and to recall Necker, who had followed Turgot as controller general and in whom everybody had great confidence. Necker restored the *parlements* to their old power and, as the treasury was absolutely empty, there seemed nothing to do but to call together the representatives of the people. Necker therefore announced that the Estates General would convene early the next year.[1]

General ignorance in regard to the Estates General

It was now discovered that no one knew much about this body of which every one was talking, for it had not met since 1614. The king accordingly issued a general invitation to scholars to find out all they could about the customs observed

[1] The *parlements* immediately lost all their importance. They had helped to precipitate the reform but they did not sympathize with any change which would deprive the privileged classes, to which their members belonged, of their ancient exemptions. They therefore forfeited their popularity when in September, 1788, they declared that the Estates General should meet in its old way, which would have enabled the privileged classes to stop any distasteful reforms.

in the former meetings of the Estates. The public naturally became very much interested in a matter which touched them so closely, and there were plenty of readers for the pamphlets which now began to appear in greater numbers than ever before.

The old system of voting by classes in the Estates General

The old Estates General had been organized in a way appropriate enough to the feudal conditions under which it originated. Each of the three estates of the realm — clergy, nobility, and third estate — sent an equal number of representatives, who were expected to consider not the interests of the nation but the special interests of the particular social class to which they respectively belonged. Accordingly the deputies of the three estates did not sit together or vote as a single body. The members of each group first came to an agreement among themselves and then cast a single vote for the whole order. The Estates General thus had three houses instead of two, like the English Parliament and the Congress of the United States, which had just been established.

Objections to the system

It was natural that this system should seem preposterous to the average Frenchman in 1788. If the Estates should be convoked according to the ancient forms, the two privileged classes would together be entitled to twice the number of representatives allotted to the other twenty-five million inhabitants of France. What was much worse, it seemed impossible that any important reforms could be adopted in an assembly where those who had every selfish reason for opposing the most necessary changes were given two votes out of three. Necker, whom the king had recalled in the hope that he might succeed in adjusting the finances, agreed that the third estate might have as many deputies as both the other orders put together, namely six hundred, but he would not consent to having the three orders sit and vote together, as the nation at large desired.

Of the innumerable pamphlets which now appeared, the most famous was that written by Sieyès, called *What is the*

Sieyès's pamphlet, *What is the Third Estate?* (*Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?*)

Third Estate? He claimed that the "aristocrats," or privileged classes, should be simply neglected, since the deputies of the third estate would represent practically the whole nation, namely, some twenty-five million or more individuals of whom less than two hundred thousand, as he estimated, were nobles and priests. "It is impossible," he says, "to answer the question, What place should the privileged orders be assigned in the social body, for it is like asking Where, in the human body, does the malign ulcer belong which torments and weakens the unhappy victim?"

The *cahiers*

Besides the great question as to whether the deputies should vote by head or by order, the pamphlets discussed what reforms the Estates should undertake. We have, however, a still more interesting and important expression of public opinion in France at this time, in the *cahiers*,[1] or lists of grievances and suggestions for reform, which, in pursuance of an old custom, the king asked the nation to prepare. Each village and town throughout France had an opportunity to tell quite frankly exactly what it suffered from the existing system, and what reforms it desired that the Estates General should bring about. These *cahiers*[2] were the "last will and testament" of the old régime, and they constitute a unique historical document of unparalleled completeness and authenticity. No one can read the *cahiers* without seeing that the nation was ready for the great transformation which, within a year, was to destroy a great part of the social and political system under which the French had lived for centuries.

Desire of the nation for a constitutional, instead of an absolute, monarchy

Almost all the *cahiers* agreed that the prevailing disorder and the vast and ill-defined powers of the king and his ministers were perhaps the fundamental evils. One of them says: "Since arbitrary power has been the source of all the evils which afflict the State, our first desire is the establishment of a really national constitution, which shall define the rights of all and provide the

[1] Pronounced kă-yā'.

[2] An example of the *cahiers* may be found in the *Readings*, sect. 34.

laws to maintain them." No one dreamed at this time of displacing the king or of taking the government out of his hands. The people only wished to change an absolute monarchy into a limited, or constitutional, one. All that was necessary was that the things which the government might *not* do should be solemnly and irrevocably determined and put upon record, and that the Estates General should meet periodically to grant the taxes, give the king advice in national crises, and expostulate, if necessary, against any violations of the proposed charter of liberties.

Practically universal manhood suffrage

The king expressed the wish that he might reach all his subjects, no matter how remote or humble they might be. He consequently permitted every one whose name appeared upon the list of taxpayers to vote, either directly or indirectly, for deputies. As he and his predecessors had always been careful to have every one pay taxes that had anything whatever to pay, this was practically equivalent to modern universal manhood suffrage.

Many parish priests elected

The village priests were all allowed to vote directly for deputies of their order. Since they hated the rich prelates who spent their time at the court of Versailles, they naturally elected as many as they could of their own rank. The result was that two thirds of the representatives of the clergy in the Estates General were simple parish priests who were in sympathy with the people and more commonly sided with the third estate than with the bishops and abbots, who were bent upon defending the old privileges and blocking reform.

The Estates General meets, May 5, 1789

With these ideas expressed in the *cahiers* in mind, the Estates assembled in Versailles and held their first session on May 5, 1789. The king had ordered the deputies to wear the same costumes that had been worn at the last meeting of the Estates in 1614; but no royal edict could call back the spirit of earlier centuries. The representatives of the third estate refused to organize themselves in the old way as a separate order. They sent invitation after invitation to the deputies of

the clergy and nobility, requesting them to join the people's representatives and deliberate in common on the great interests of the nation. Some of the more liberal of the nobles — Lafayette, for example — and a large minority of the clergy wished to meet with the deputies of the third estate.[1] But they were outvoted, and finally the deputies of the third estate (under the influence of Sieyès), losing patience, declared themselves on June 17 a "National Assembly." They argued that, since they represented at least ninety-six per cent of the nation, the deputies of the privileged orders might be neglected altogether. This usurpation of power on the part of the third estate transformed the old feudal Estates, voting by orders, into the first modern national representative assembly on the continent of Europe.

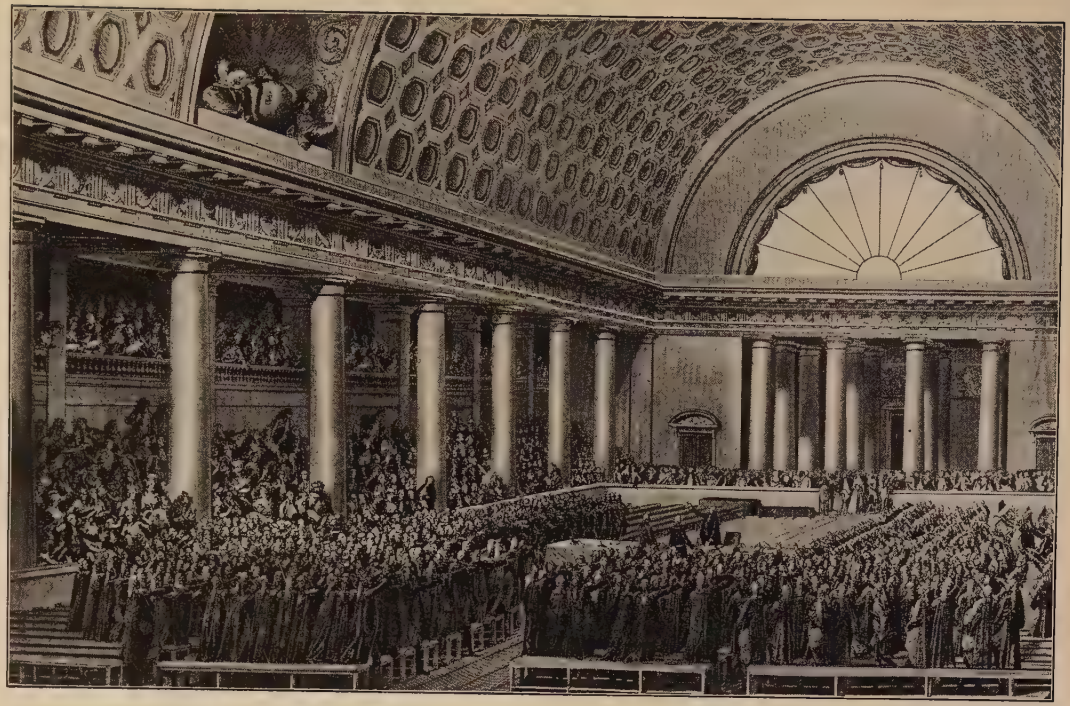
The representatives of the third estate declare themselves a "National Assembly"

Under the influence of his courtiers the king tried to restore the old system by arranging a solemn joint session of the three orders, at which he presided in person. He presented a long program of excellent reforms, and then bade the Estates sit apart, according to the former custom. But it was like bidding water to run up hill. Three days before, when the commons had found themselves excluded from their regular place of meeting on account of the preparations for the royal session, they had betaken themselves to a neighboring building called the "Tennis Court." Here, on June 20, they took the famous "Tennis-Court" oath, never to separate "until the constitution of the kingdom should be established and placed upon a firm foundation." They were emboldened in their purpose to resist all schemes to frustrate a general reform by the support of over half of the deputies of the clergy, who joined them the day before the royal session.

The "Tennis-Court" oath

Consequently, when the king finished his address and commanded the three orders to disperse immediately in order to

[1] The nobles, of whom a few sympathized with the third estate, rejected the proposed union by a vote of 188 to 47. The vote of the clergy, made up largely of parish priests, stood 133 to 114, so ten more noes, in their case, would have turned the scale.



SWEARING IN THE DEPUTIES AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, JUNE 17, 1789

resume their separate sessions, most of the bishops, some of the parish priests, and a great part of the nobility obeyed; the rest sat still, uncertain what they should do. When the master of ceremonies ordered them to comply with the king's commands, Count Mirabeau, who was to prove himself the most distinguished statesman among the deputies, told him bluntly that they would not leave their places except at the point of the bayonet. The weak king almost immediately gave in, and a few days later ordered all the deputies of the privileged orders, who had not already done so, to join the commons.

The nobility and clergy forced to join the third estate

This was a momentous victory for the nation. The representatives of the privileged classes had been forced to unite with the third estate, to deliberate with them, and to vote "by head." Moreover the National Assembly had pledged itself never to separate until it had regenerated the kingdom and given France a constitution. It was no longer simply to vote taxes and help the king's treasury out of its perennial difficulties.

First momentous victory of the nation

First Reforms of the National Assembly, July–October, 1789

20. The National Assembly now began in earnest the great task of preparing a constitution for France. It was, however, soon interrupted. The little group of noblemen and prelates who spent much of their time in the king's palace formed what was known as the court party. They were not numerous but could influence the king as no other group in the nation could do. They naturally opposed reform; they neither wished to give up their own privileges nor to have the king come under the control of the National Assembly, for that would mean that he would no longer be able to give them the pensions and lucrative positions which they now readily obtained. This court "ring" enjoyed the hearty support of the queen, Marie Antoinette, and of the king's younger brother, the count of Artois, both of whom regarded the deputies of the third estate as

The court party determines to disperse the National Assembly

insolent and dangerous agitators who proposed to rob the monarch of the powers which had been conferred upon him by God himself. The queen and her friends had got rid of Turgot and Calonne, who had endeavored to change the old order; why should they not disperse the Estates General, which was escaping from the control of the clergy and nobility?

Troops sent to Paris; Necker's dismissal, July, 1789

The king agreed to the court party's plans. He summoned the Swiss and German troops in the employ of France and sent a company of them into Paris in order that they might suppress any violence on the part of the townspeople, should he decide to send the arrogant deputies home. He was also induced to dismiss Necker, who enjoyed a popularity that he had, in reality, done little to merit. When the people of Paris saw the troops gathering and heard of the dismissal of Necker they became excited. Camille Desmoulins, a brilliant young journalist, rushed into the garden of the Palais Royal, where crowds of people were discussing the situation, and, leaping upon a table, announced that the Swiss and German soldiers would soon be slaughtering all the "patriots." He urged the people to arm and defend both themselves and the National Assembly from the attacks of the court party, which wished to betray the nation. All night the mob surged about the streets, seeking arms in the shops of the gunsmiths and breaking into bakeries and taverns to satisfy their hunger and thirst.

Camille Desmoulins excites the Parisians, July 12, 1789

Attack on the Bastille, July 14, 1789

This was but the prelude to the great day of July 14, when crowds of people assembled to renew the search for arms, and to perform, mayhap, some deed of patriotism. One of the lawless bands made its way to the ancient fortress of the Bastille, which stood in the poorer quarter of the city. Here the mob expected to find arms, but the governor of the fortress, de Launay, naturally refused to supply the crowd with weapons. He had, moreover, mounted cannons on the parapets, which made the inhabitants of the region very nervous. The people hated the castle, which they imagined to be full of dark dungeons and instruments of torture. It appeared to them a symbol

of tyranny, for it had long been used as a place of confinement for those whom the king imprisoned by his arbitrary orders, the *lettres de cachet*. While there seemed no hope of taking the fortress, whose walls, ten feet thick, towered high above them, the attempt was made. Negotiations with the governor were opened and, during these, a part of the crowd pressed across a drawbridge into the court. Here, for some reason that has never been explained, the troops in the castle fired upon the people and killed nearly a hundred of them. Meanwhile the mob on the outside continued an ineffectual but desperate attack until de Launay was forced by the garrison to surrender on condition that they should be allowed to retire unmolested. The drawbridge was then let down and the crowd rushed into the gloomy pile. They found only seven prisoners, whom they freed with great enthusiasm. But the better element in the crowd was unable to restrain the violent and cruel class, represented in every mob, who proposed to avenge the slaughter of their companions in the courtyard of the Bastille. Consequently the Swiss soldiers, who formed the garrison, were killed, and their heads, with that of de Launay, were paraded about the streets on pikes.

Significance of the fall of the Bastille

The fall of the Bastille is one of the most impressive, striking, and dramatic events in modern history, and its anniversary is still celebrated in France as the chief national holiday. On that day the people of Paris rose to protect themselves against the plots of the courtiers, who wished to maintain the old despotic system. They attacked an ancient monument of despotism, forced the king's officer in charge of it to capitulate, and then destroyed the walls of the fortress so that nothing now remains except a line of white stones to mark its former site. The events of the 14th of July, 1789, have been "disfigured and transfigured by legends," but none the less they opened a new era of freedom inasmuch as they put an end to the danger of a return to the *Ancien Régime*. It is true that the court party continued to make trouble, but its

Beginning of the emigration of the nobles

opposition served to hasten rather than to impede reform. Some of the leaders of the group, among them the king's younger brother, the count of Artois (who was destined to become king as Charles X), left France immediately after the fall of the Bastille and began actively urging foreign monarchs to intervene to protect Louis XVI from the reformers.

The national guard

It had become clear that the king could not maintain order in Paris. The shopkeepers and other respectable citizens were compelled to protect themselves against the wild crowds made up of the criminal and disorderly class of the capital and reënforced by half-starving men who had drifted to Paris on account of the famine which prevailed in the provinces. In order to prevent attacks on individuals and the sacking of shops, a "national guard" was organized, made up of volunteers from the well-to-do citizens. General Lafayette, one of the most liberal-minded of the nobles, was put in command. This deprived the king of every excuse for calling in his regular troops to insure order in Paris, and put the military power into the hands of the *bourgeoisie*, as the French call the class made up of the more prosperous business men.

Establishment of *communes* in Paris and other cities

The government of Paris was reorganized, and a mayor, chosen from among the members of the National Assembly, was put at the head of the new *commune*, as the municipal government was called. The other cities of France also began with one accord, after the dismissal of Necker and the fall of the Bastille, to promote the Revolution by displacing or supplementing their former governments by committees of their citizens. These improvised communes, or city governments, established national guards, as Paris had done, and thus maintained order. The news that the king had approved the changes at Paris confirmed the citizens of other cities in the conviction that they had done right in taking the control into their own hands. We shall hear a good deal of the commune, or municipal government, of Paris later, as it played a very important rôle in the Reign of Terror.

By the end of the month of July the commotion reached the country districts. A curious panic swept over the land, which the peasants long remembered as "the great fear." A mysterious rumor arose that the "brigands" were coming! The terrified people did what they could to prepare for the danger, although they had no clear idea of what it was; neighboring communities combined with one another for mutual protection. When the panic was over and people saw that there were no brigands after all, they turned their attention to an enemy by no means imaginary, i.e. the old régime. The peasants assembled on the village common, or in the parish church, and voted to pay the feudal dues no longer. The next step was to burn the *châteaux*, or castles of the nobles, in order to destroy the records of the peasants' obligations to their feudal lords.

Disorder in the country districts

About the 1st of August news reached the National Assembly of the burning of *châteaux* in various parts of the kingdom, and of the obstinate refusal of the country people to pay the tithes, taxes, rents, and feudal dues. It seemed absolutely necessary to pacify and encourage the people by announcing sweeping reforms. Consequently during the celebrated night session of August 4–5, amid great excitement, the members of the privileged orders, led by the viscount of Noailles, a relative of Lafayette who had fought with him in America, vied with one another in surrendering their ancient privileges.[1]

Night of August 4–5

The exclusive right of the nobility to hunt and to maintain their huge pigeon houses was abolished, and the peasant was

[1] Of course the nobles and clergy had very little prospect of retaining their privileges even if they did not give them up voluntarily. This was bitterly emphasized by Marat in his newspaper, *The Friend of the People*. "Let us not be duped! If these sacrifices of privileges were due to benevolence, it must be confessed that the voice of benevolence has been raised rather late in the day. When the lurid flames of their burning *châteaux* have illuminated France, these people have been good enough to give up the privilege of keeping in fetters men who had already gained their liberty by force of arms. When they see the punishment that awaits robbers, extortioners, and tyrants like themselves they generously abandon the feudal dues and agree to stop bleeding the wretched people who can barely keep body and soul together."

Decree abolishing the feudal dues, hunting rights, and other privileges

permitted to kill game which he found on his land. The tithes of the Church were done away with. Exemptions from the payment of taxes were abolished forever. It was decreed that "taxes shall be collected from all citizens and from all property in the same manner and in the same form," and that "all citizens, without distinction of birth, are eligible to any office or dignity." Moreover, inasmuch as a national constitution would be of more advantage to the provinces than the privileges which some of these enjoyed, and — so the decree continues — "inasmuch as the surrender of such privileges is essential to the intimate union of all parts of the realm, it is decreed that all the peculiar privileges, pecuniary or otherwise, of the provinces, principalities, districts, cantons, cities, and communes, are once for all abolished and are absorbed into the law common to all Frenchmen." [1]

Unification of France through the abolition of the ancient provinces and the creation of the present departments

This decree thus proclaimed the equality and uniformity for which the French people had so long sighed. The injustice of the former system of taxation could never be reintroduced. All France was to have the same laws, and its citizens were henceforth to be treated in the same way by the State, whether they lived in Brittany or Dauphiny, in the Pyrenees or on the Rhine. A few months later the Assembly went a step farther in consolidating and unifying France. It wiped out the old provinces altogether by dividing the whole country into districts of convenient size, called *départements*. These were much more numerous than the ancient divisions, and were named after rivers and mountains. This obliterated from the map all reminiscences of the feudal disunion.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man

Many of the *cahiers* had suggested that the Estates should draw up a clear statement of the rights of the individual citizen. It was urged that the recurrence of abuses and the insidious encroachments of despotism might in this way be forever prevented. The National Assembly consequently determined

[1] This edict is given in the *Readings*, sect. 35. The nobles were to be indemnified for some of the important but less offensive of the feudal dues.

to prepare such a declaration in order to gratify and reassure the people and to form a basis for the new constitution.

This Declaration of the Rights of Man (completed August 26) is one of the most notable documents in the history of Europe. It not only aroused general enthusiasm when it was first published, but it appeared over and over again, in a modified form, in the succeeding French constitutions down to 1848, and has been the model for similar declarations in many of the other continental states. It was a dignified repudiation of the abuses described in the preceding chapter. Behind each article there was some crying evil of long standing against which the people wished to be forever protected, — *lettres de cachet*, religious persecution, censorship of the press, and despotism in general.

Contents of the Declaration

The Declaration sets forth that "Men are born and remain equal in rights. Social distinctions can only be founded upon the general good." "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate, personally or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all." "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law." "No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law." "The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, being responsible, however, for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law." "All citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representative, as to the necessity of the contribution to the public treasury, to grant this freely, to know to what uses it is put, and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection, and the duration of the taxes." "Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration." Well might the Assembly claim,

in its address to the people, that "the rights of man had been misconceived and insulted for centuries," and boast that they were "reëstablished for all humanity in this declaration, which shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors."

The National Assembly in Paris, October, 1789 to September, 1791

The court party once more plans a counter-revolution

21. The king hesitated to ratify the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and about the first of October rumors became current that, under the influence of the courtiers, he was calling together troops and preparing for another attempt to put an end to the Revolution, similar to that which the attack on the Bastille had frustrated. A regiment arrived from Flanders and was entertained at a banquet given by the king's guard at Versailles. The queen was present, and it was reported in Paris that the officers, in their enthusiasm for her, had trampled under foot the new national colors, — the red, white, and blue, — which had been adopted after the fall of the Bastille. These things, along with the scarcity of food due to the poor crops of the year, aroused the excitable Paris populace to fever heat.

A Paris mob invades the king's palace and carries him off to Paris

On October 5 several thousand women and a number of armed men marched out to Versailles to ask bread of the king, in whom they had great confidence personally, however suspicious they might be of his friends and advisers. Lafayette marched after the crowd with the national guard, but did not prevent some of the people from invading the king's palace the next morning and nearly murdering the queen, who had become very unpopular. She was believed to be still an Austrian at heart and to be in league with the counter-revolutionary party.

The people declared that the king must accompany them to Paris, and he was obliged to consent. Far from being disloyal, they assumed that the presence of the royal family would insure plenty and prosperity. So they gayly escorted the "baker and the baker's wife and the baker's boy," as they jocularly termed

the king and queen and the little dauphin, to the Palace of the Tuileries, where the king took up his residence, practically a prisoner, as it proved. The National Assembly soon followed him and resumed its sittings in a riding school near the Tuileries.

Disastrous results of transferring the king and the Assembly to Paris

This transfer of the king and the Assembly to the capital was the first great misfortune of the Revolution. The work of reform was by no means completed, and now the disorderly element of Paris could at any time invade the galleries and interrupt those deputies who proposed measures that did not meet with their approval. Marat's newspaper, *The Friend of the People*, assured the poor of the city that they were the real "patriots." Before long they came to hate the well-to-do middle class (the *bourgeoisie*) almost as heartily as they hated the nobles, and were ready to follow any leader who talked to them about "liberty" and vaguely denounced "traitors." Under these circumstances the populace might at any time get control of Paris, and Paris of the National Assembly. And so it fell out, as we shall see.

Mirabeau advises the king to leave Paris and call the Assembly to him

No one was more impressed by the danger than Mirabeau, whose keen insight cannot fail to fill every student of the French Revolution with admiration. After the transfer of the royal family to Paris, Mirabeau became a sort of official adviser to the king, who, however, never acted upon the advice, for both he and the queen abhorred the great orator and statesman on account of his views and his immorality. So it did no good when Mirabeau pointed out to Louis that both he and the Assembly were really prisoners in Paris, which was constantly subject to the most serious disturbances. "Its inhabitants when excited are irresistible. Winter is approaching and food may be wanting. Bankruptcy may be declared. What will Paris be three months hence? — assuredly a poorhouse, perhaps a theater of horrors. Is it to such a place that the head of the nation should intrust his existence and our only hope?" The king, he urged, should openly retire to Rouen

and summon the Assembly to him there, where reforms could be completed without interruption or coercion. Above all things, the king must not go eastward, else he would be suspected of joining the runaway nobles who were hanging about the boundaries. Yet, as we shall see, when the king finally decided to escape from Paris eighteen months later this was precisely what he did.

The new constitution

But for some time there was no considerable disorder. The deputies worked away on the constitution, and on February 4, 1790, the king visited the National Assembly and solemnly pledged himself and the queen to accept the new form of government. This provided that the sovereign should rule both by the grace of God and by the constitutional law of the State, but the nation was to be superior to the law and the law to the king. The king was to be the chief executive and to be permitted to veto bills passed by the Assembly, unless they were passed by three successive Assemblies, in which case they would become law without his ratification. This was called the suspensive veto and was supposed to be modeled upon that granted to the President of the United States.

The Legislative Assembly established by the new constitution

The constitution naturally provided that the laws should be made and the taxes granted by a representative body that should meet regularly. This was to consist, like the National Assembly, of one house, instead of two like the English Parliament. Many had favored the system of two houses, but the nobility and clergy, who would have composed the upper house on the English analogy, were still viewed with suspicion as likely to wish to restore the privileges of which they had just been deprived. Only those citizens who paid a tax equal to three days' labor were permitted to vote for deputies to the Legislative Assembly. The poorer people had, consequently, no voice in the government in spite of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which assured equal rights to all. This and other restrictions tended to keep the power in the hands of the middle class.

The Assembly reforms the Church

Of the other reforms of the National Assembly, the most important related to the Church, which, as has been explained, continued up to the time of the Revolution to be very rich and powerful, and to retain many of its mediæval prerogatives and privileges. Its higher officials, the bishops and abbots, received very large revenues and often one prelate held a number of rich benefices, the duties of which he utterly neglected while he amused himself at Versailles. The parish priests, on the other hand, who really performed the manifold and important functions of the Church, were scarcely able to live on their incomes. This unjust apportionment of the vast revenue of the Church naturally suggested the idea that, if the State confiscated the ecclesiastical possessions, it could see that those who did the work were properly paid for it, and might, at the same time, secure a handsome sum which would help the government out of its financial troubles. Those who sympathized with Voltaire's views were naturally delighted to see their old enemy deprived of its independence and made subservient to the State, and even many good Catholics hoped that the new system would be an improvement upon the old.

Unjust division of the revenue of the Church

The National Assembly declares the property of the Church to be at the disposal of the nation

The tithes had been abolished in August along with the feudal dues. This deprived the Church of perhaps thirty million dollars a year. On November 2, 1789, a decree was passed providing that "All the ecclesiastical possessions are at the disposal of the nation on condition that it provides properly for the expenses of maintaining religious services, for the support of those who conduct them, and for the succor of the poor." This decree deprived the bishops and priests of their benefices and made them dependent on salaries paid by the State. The monasteries and convents were also, when called upon, to give up their property to meet the needs of the State.[1]

[1] The mediæval monastic orders, feeble and often degenerate, still continued to exist in France at the opening of the Revolution, — Benedictines, Carthusians, Cistercians, Franciscans, Dominicans. The State still recognized the solemn vows of poverty taken by the monks and viewed them as incapable of holding any property or receiving any bequests. It also regarded it as its duty to arrest

The *assignats*, or paper currency

The National Assembly a little later ordered inventories to be made of the lands and buildings and various sources of revenue which the bishops, priests, and monks had so long enjoyed, and then the Church property was offered for sale. Meanwhile, in order to supply an empty treasury, the Assembly determined to issue a paper currency for which the newly acquired lands would serve as security. Of these *assignats*, as this paper money was called, we hear a great deal during the revolutionary period. They soon began to depreciate, and ultimately a great part of the forty billions of francs issued during the next seven years was repudiated.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, completed July, 1790

After depriving the Church of its property, the Assembly deemed it necessary to completely reorganize it, and drew up the so-called Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The one hundred and thirty-four ancient bishoprics, some of which dated back to the Roman Empire, were reduced to eighty-three, so as to correspond with the new "departments" into which France had just been divided. Each of these became the diocese of a bishop, who was no longer to be appointed by the king and confirmed by the Pope [1] but was looked upon as a government

a runaway monk and restore him to his monastery. The National Assembly, shortly after declaring the property of the monasteries at the disposal of the nation, refused (February 13, 1790) longer legally to recognize perpetual monastic vows, and abolished all the orders which required them. The monks and nuns were to be free to leave their monasteries and were, in that case, to receive a pension from the government of from seven hundred to twelve hundred francs. Those, however, who preferred to remain were to be grouped in such houses as the government assigned them. In a year or so a good many of the monks appear to have deserted their old life, but very few of the nuns. Those who remained were naturally the most conservative of all; they opposed the Revolution and sided with the nonjuring clergy. This made them very unpopular with the Legislative Assembly, which in August, 1792, ordered all the monasteries to be vacated and turned over to the government for its use. At the same time it abolished all the other religious communities and associations, like the Oratorians and the Sisters of Charity, which, without requiring any solemn vows, had devoted themselves to teaching or charitable works. Many of these religious *congregations*, as the French call them, were revived in the nineteenth century and have been the cause of a good deal of agitation. See below, sect. 62.

[1] The decrees abolishing the feudal system (August 11, 1789) had already prohibited all remittances to the Pope in the shape of *annates* or other payments. The bishoprics were grouped into ten districts, each presided over by a "metropolitan," who corresponded to the former archbishop.

official, to be elected, like other government officials, by the people, and paid a regular salary. The priests, too, were to be chosen by the people instead, as formerly, by the bishop or lord of the manor; and their salaries were to be substantially increased. In Paris they were to have six thousand francs, in smaller places less, but never an amount below twelve hundred francs; even in the smallest villages they received over twice the minimum paid under the old régime. Lastly, it was provided that clergymen, upon accepting office, must all take an oath, like other government officials, to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to "maintain with all their might the constitution decreed by the Assembly."[1]

Opposition aroused by the Civil Constitution

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy proved a serious mistake. While the half-feudalized Church had sadly needed reform, the worst abuses might have been remedied without overturning the whole system, which was hallowed in the minds of most of the French people by age and religious veneration. The arbitrary suppression of fifty-one bishoprics, the election of the bishops by the ordinary voters, who included Protestants, Jews, and unbelievers, the neglect of the Pope's rights, — all shocked and alienated thousands of those who had hitherto enthusiastically applauded the reforms which the Assembly had effected. The king gave his assent to the Civil Constitution, but with the fearful apprehension that he might be losing his soul by so doing. From that time on he became an enemy of the Revolution on religious grounds.

Oath to the Constitution required of the clergy

The bishops, with very few exceptions, opposed the changes and did all they could to prevent the reforms from being carried out. Accordingly (November 27, 1790) the irritated Assembly ordered all the bishops and priests to take the oath to the Constitution (which, of course, included the new laws in regard to the Church) within a week. Those who refused were to be regarded as having resigned; and if any of them

[1] For the text of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, see the *Readings*, sect. 36.

still continued to perform their functions they were to be treated as "disturbers of the peace."

The "nonjuring" clergy become the enemies of the Revolution

Only four of the bishops consented to take the required oath and but a third of the lower clergy, although they were much better off under the new system. Forty-six thousand parish priests refused to sacrifice their religious scruples. Before long the Pope condemned the Civil Constitution and forbade the clergy to take the oath. As time went on the "nonjuring" clergy were dealt with more and more harshly by the government, and the way was prepared for the horrors of the Reign of Terror. The Revolution ceased to stand for liberty, order, and the abolition of ancient abuses, and came to mean — in the minds of many besides those who had lost their former privileges — irreligion, violence, and a new kind of oppression more cruel than the old.

Celebration of the fall of the Bastille

A year after the fall of the Bastille a great festival was held in Paris to celebrate the glorious anniversary which has been commemorated on the 14th of July ever since. Delegates were sent to Paris from all parts of France to express the sympathy of the country at large. This occasion made a deep impression upon all, as well it might. It was more than a year later, however, before the National Assembly at last finished its work and dissolved, to give place to the Legislative Assembly for which the constitution provided.

The extraordinary achievements of the National Assembly

It was little more than two years that the National Assembly had been engaged upon its tremendous task of modernizing France. No body of men has ever accomplished so much in so short a period. The English Parliament, during an existence of five hundred years, had done far less to reform England; and no monarch, with the possible exception of the unhappy Joseph II, has ever even attempted to make such deep and far-reaching changes as were permanently accomplished by the first French Assembly.

Despite the marvelous success of the Assembly, as measured by the multiplicity and the decisiveness of its reforms, it had

made many and dangerous enemies. The king and queen and the courtiers were in correspondence with the king of Prussia and the Emperor, with a hope of inducing them to intervene to check the Revolution. The runaway nobles were ready to call in foreign forces to restore the old system, and many of the clergy now regarded the Revolution as hostile to religion. Moreover the populace in Paris and in other large towns had been aroused against the Assembly by their radical leaders, their newspapers, and the political clubs. They felt that the deputies had worked only for the prosperous classes and had done little for the poor people, who should have been supplied with bread and allowed to vote. They were irritated also by the national guard commanded by that ex-noble, the marquis of Lafayette, who looked altogether too fine on his white horse. The members of the guard, too, were well dressed and only too ready to fire on the "patriots" if they dared to make a demonstration. Altogether it is easy to see that there was trouble ahead. The Revolution had gone much too far for some and not far enough for others.

The hostility aroused by the policy of the Assembly

REFERENCES

The Cahiers: LOWELL, *Eve of the French Revolution*, chaps. xxi–xxii, pp. 342–376; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 134–144.

The Pamphlets: LOWELL, chap. xx, pp. 322–341.

Convocation of the Estates General: MATHEWS, *The French Revolution*, chap. viii, pp. 102–110; STEPHENS, *History of the French Revolution*, Vol. I, Prologue, and chap. i, pp. 1–54; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96–118.

Opening of the National Assembly: MATHEWS, chap. ix, pp. 111–124; STEPHENS, Vol. I, chap. ii, pp. 55–74; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 145–158.

Fall of the Bastille: MATHEWS, chap. x, pp. 125–137; STEPHENS, Vol. I, pp. 128–145; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 159–169.

The Country at Large in the Summer of 1789: STEPHENS, Vol. I, chap. vi, pp. 169–197.

Abolition of the Old Régime: MATHEWS, chaps. xi–xii, pp. 138–165.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy: STEPHENS, Vol. I, chap. x, pp. 291–309.

English Attitude toward the Revolution: LECKY, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. VI, chap. xix, pp. 365–487; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. xxv, pp. 754–771.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC

The Abolition of the Monarchy, 1791–1792

22. We have now studied the progress and nature of the revolution which destroyed the old régime and created modern France. Through it the unjust privileges, the perplexing irregularities, and the local differences were abolished, and the people admitted to a share in the government. This vast reform had been accomplished without serious disturbance and, with the exception of some of the changes in the Church, it had been welcomed with enthusiasm by the French nation.

The second revolution

This permanent, peaceful revolution, or reformation, was followed by a second, violent revolution, which for a time destroyed the French monarchy. It also introduced a series of further changes, many of which were fantastic and unnecessary and could not endure, since they were approved by only a few fanatical leaders. France, moreover, became involved in a war with most of the powers of western Europe. The weakness of her government, which permitted the forces of disorder and fanaticism to prevail, combined with the imminent danger of an invasion by the united powers of Europe, produced the Reign of Terror. After a period of national excitement and partial anarchy, France gladly accepted the rule of one of her military commanders, who was to prove himself far more despotic than her former kings had been. This general, Napoleon Bonaparte, did not, however, undo the great work of 1789; his colossal ambition was, on the contrary, the means of extending, directly or indirectly, many of the benefits of the Revolution to other parts of western Europe. When, after Napoleon's fall, the elder

brother of Louis XVI came to the throne, the first thing that he did was solemnly to assure the people that all the great gains of the first revolution should be maintained.

The emigration of the nobles

While practically the whole of the nation heartily rejoiced in the earlier reforms introduced by the National Assembly, and celebrated the general satisfaction and harmony by that great national festival held in Paris on the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, of which mention has been made,[1] some of the higher nobility refused to remain in France. The count of Artois (the king's younger brother), Calonne, the prince of Condé, and others, set the example by leaving the country just after the events of July 14, 1789. They were followed by others who were terrified or disgusted by the burning of the *châteaux*, the loss of their privileges, and the injudicious abolition of hereditary nobility by the National Assembly in June, 1790. Before long these emigrant nobles (*émigrés*), among whom were many military officers like Condé, organized a little army across the Rhine, and the count of Artois began to plan an invasion of France. He was ready to ally himself with Austria, Prussia, or any other foreign government which he could induce to help undo the Revolution and give back to the French king his former absolute power, and to the nobles their old privileges.

The conduct of the emigrant nobles discredits the king and queen

The threats and insolence of the emigrant nobles and their shameful negotiations with foreign powers discredited the members of their class who still remained in France. The people suspected that the plans of the runaways met with the secret approval of the king, and more especially of the queen, whose brother, Leopold II, was now Emperor, and ruler of the Austrian dominions. This, added to the opposition of the nonjuring clergy, produced a bitter hostility between the so-called "patriots" and those who, on the other hand, were supposed to be secretly hoping for a counter-revolution which would reëstablish the old régime.

[1] See above, p. 130.

Had the king been willing to follow the advice of Mirabeau, the tragedy of the approaching Reign of Terror might probably have been avoided. France needed a strong king who would adjust himself to the new constitution, guide the Assembly, maintain order in Paris and the other great cities, and, above all, avoid any suspicion of wishing for a restoration of the old régime. Mirabeau saw clearly that the welfare of France at this juncture depended upon strengthening the monarchy. His efforts to forward this end were, however, unavailing. The fact that he accepted money from the king for advice roused the natural suspicions of the radical members of the Assembly and he was denounced as a traitor. On the other hand, he never really enjoyed the confidence of Louis XVI, who, like the queen, heartily detested him. He died April 2, 1791, at the age of forty-three, worn out by a life of dissipation, and the king was thus left with no one to hold him back from destruction.

Mirabeau fails to strengthen the monarchy, and dies, April, 1791

The worst fears of the people seemed to be justified by the secret flight of the royal family from Paris, in June, 1791. Ever since the king had reluctantly signed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, flight had seemed to him his only resource. A body of regular troops was collected on the northeastern boundary ready to receive and protect him. If he could escape and join them at Montmédy, which was just on the frontier, about a hundred and seventy miles from Paris, he hoped that, aided by a demonstration on the part of the queen's brother, Leopold, he might march back and check the further progress of the revolutionary movement. He had, it is true, no liking for the emigrants and disapproved of their policy, nor did he believe that the old régime could ever be restored. But, unfortunately, his plans led him to attempt to reach the boundary just at the point where the emigrants were collected, viz. at Coblenz and Worms. He and the queen were, however, arrested at Varennes, when within twenty-five miles of their destination, and speedily brought back to Paris.

The flight to Varennes (June 21, 1791)

Effect of the king's flight

The desertion of the king appears to have terrified rather than angered the nation. The consternation of the people at the thought of losing, and their relief at regaining, a poor weak ruler like Louis XVI clearly shows that France was still profoundly royalist in its sympathies. The National Assembly pretended that the king had not fled but had been carried off. This gratified France at large; in Paris, however, there were some who advocated the deposition of the king, on the ground that he was clearly a traitor. Indeed, for the first time a *republican* party, small as yet, made its appearance, which urged the complete abolition of the monarchical form of government and the substitution of a democracy.

The leaders of the new republican party

Of those who had lost confidence in the king and in the monarchy, the most prominent was Dr. Marat, a physician and scholar, who before the Revolution had published several scientific works, but was now conducting the very violent newspaper already quoted, *The Friend of the People*. In this he denounced in the most extravagant language both the "aristocrats" and the "bourgeoisie," — for by "the people" he meant the great mass of workingmen in the towns and the peasants in the fields. Then there was the gentle and witty Camille Desmoulins, who had made the famous address in the Palais Royal on the 12th of July, 1789, which roused the populace to defend themselves against the plots of the courtiers. He too edited a newspaper and was a leader in the radical club called the *Cordeliers*.[1] Lastly Desmoulins's good friend Danton, with his coarse, strong face, his big voice, and his fiery eloquence, was becoming a sort of Mirabeau of the masses. He had much good sense and was not so virulent in his language as Marat, but his superabundant vitality led him to condone violence and cruelty in carrying on the Revolution and destroying its enemies.

[1] So named after the monastery where the club held its meetings. The monks had belonged to the order of St. Francis and were called *Cordeliers* on account of the heavy "cord," a rope with three knots, which they wore instead of a girdle.

Under the influence of these men a petition was drawn up demanding that the Assembly should regard the king as having abdicated by his flight, and that a new convention should be called to draw up a better constitution. On July 17 this petition was taken to the Champ de Mars (a great open space used for military maneuvers, where the festival had been held during the previous July), and here the people of Paris were called together to sign it. The mayor of Paris disapproved of the affair and decided to disperse the people. He marched out with Lafayette and the national guard and ordered the petitioners to go home. Unhappily the crowd did not take the warnings of the mayor seriously; some stones were thrown at the troops, who were thereupon ordered to fire, and a number of men, women, and children were killed. This unfortunate and quite needless "Massacre of the Champ de Mars" served to weaken the monarchy still farther. It was not forgotten, although the king remained on the throne for a year longer, and Marat, Danton, and Desmoulins were intimidated and thought it prudent to remain in hiding for a time.

Massacre of the Champ de Mars (July 17, 1791)

It was in the following September that the National Assembly at last put the finishing touches on the constitution which had occupied them for more than two years. The king swore to obey it faithfully, and a general amnesty was proclaimed so that all the discord and suspicion of the past few months might be forgotten. The Assembly then broke up and gave way to the regular congress provided for by the new constitution, — the Legislative Assembly, — which held its first meeting October 1, 1791.

The National Assembly gives way to the Legislative Assembly (September, 1791)

In spite of the great achievements of the National Assembly it left France in a critical situation. Besides the emigrant nobles abroad there were the nonjuring clergy at home, and a king who was treacherously corresponding with foreign powers in the hope of securing their aid. When the news of the capture of the king and queen at Varennes reached the ears of Marie Antoinette's brother, Leopold II, he declared that the

Sources of danger at the opening of the Legislative Assembly, October, 1791

violent arrest of the king sealed with unlawfulness all that had been done in France and "compromised directly the honor of all the sovereigns and the security of every government." He therefore proposed to the rulers of Russia, England, Prussia, Spain, Naples, and Sardinia that they should come to some understanding between themselves as to how they might "reëstablish the liberty and honor of the most Christian king and his family, and place a check upon the dangerous excesses of the French Revolution, the fatal example of which it behooves every government to repress."

The Declaration of Pillnitz, August 27, 1791

On August 27 Leopold, in conjunction with the king of Prussia, had issued the famous Declaration of Pillnitz. In this the two sovereigns state that, in accordance with the wishes of the king's brothers (the leaders of the emigrant nobles), they are ready to join the other European rulers in an attempt to place the king of France in a position to establish a form of government "that shall be once more in harmony with the rights of sovereigns and shall promote the welfare of the French nation." They agreed in the meantime to prepare their troops for active service.

Effect of the Declaration

The Declaration was little more than an empty threat; but it seemed to the French people a sufficient proof that the monarchs were ready to help the seditious French nobles to reëstablish the old régime against the wishes of the nation and at the cost of infinite bloodshed. The idea of foreign rulers intermeddling with their internal affairs would in itself have been intolerable to a proud people like the French, even if the new reforms had not been endangered. Had it been the object of the allied monarchs to hasten instead of to prevent the deposition of Louis XVI, they could hardly have chosen a more efficient means than the Declaration of Pillnitz.

The newspapers

Political excitement and enthusiasm for the Revolution were kept up by the newspapers which had been established, especially in Paris, since the convening of the Estates General. Except in England there had been no daily newspapers before

the French Revolution, and those journals that were issued weekly or at longer intervals had little to say of politics, — commonly a dangerous subject on the Continent. But after 1789 the public did not need longer to rely upon an occasional pamphlet, as was the case earlier. Many journals of the most divergent kinds and representing the most various opinions were published. Some, like the notorious *Friend of the People*, were no more than a periodical editorial written by one man. Others, like the famous *Moniteur*, were much like our papers of to-day and contained news, both foreign and domestic, reports of the debates in the assembly and the text of its decrees, announcements of theaters, etc. The royalists had their organ called *The Acts of the Apostles*, witty and irreverent as the court party itself. Some of the papers were illustrated, and the representations of contemporaneous events, especially the numerous caricatures, are highly diverting.[1]

The Jacobins

Of the numerous political clubs, by far the most famous was that of the *Jacobins*. When the Assembly moved into Paris some of the provincial representatives of the third estate rented a large room in the monastery of the Jacobin monks, not far from the building where the National Assembly itself met. A hundred deputies perhaps were present at the first meeting. The next day the number had doubled. The aim of this society was to discuss questions which were about to come before the National Assembly. The club decided at its meetings what should be the policy of its members and how they should vote; and in this way they successfully combined to counteract the schemes of the aristocratic party in the Assembly. The club rapidly grew, and soon admitted to its sessions some who were not deputies. In October, 1791, it decided to permit the public to attend its discussions.

[1] For example, in one of the caricatures, the formerly despotic king is represented as safely confined by the National Assembly in a huge parrot cage. When asked by his brother-in-law, Leopold II, what he is about, Louis XVI replies, "I am signing my name," — that is, he had nothing to do except meekly to ratify the measures which the Assembly chose to pass.

Gradually similar societies were formed in the provinces.[1] These affiliated themselves with the "mother" society at Paris and kept in constant communication with it. In this way the Jacobins of Paris stimulated and controlled public opinion throughout France and kept the opponents of the old régime alert. When the Legislative Assembly met, the Jacobins had not as yet become republicans but they believed that the king should have hardly more power than the president of a republic. They were even ready to promote his deposition if he failed to stand by the Revolution.

Parties in the Legislative Assembly

The new Legislative Assembly was not well qualified to cope with the many difficulties which faced it. It was made up almost entirely of young and inexperienced men, for the National Assembly, on motion of the virtuous Robespierre, had passed a self-denying ordinance excluding all its members from election to the new body. The Jacobin clubs in the provinces had succeeded in securing the election of a good many of their candidates, sometimes by resorting to violence in order to defeat the more conservative candidates. Consequently the most active and powerful party in the Legislative Assembly was, on the whole, hostile to the king.

The Girondists

Many young and ardent lawyers had been elected, among whom the most prominent were from the department of the Gironde, in which the important city of Bordeaux was situated. They and their followers were called Girondists. They had much to say in their brilliant speeches of the glories of Sparta and of the Roman Republic; they too longed for a republic and inveighed against "tyrants." They applauded the eloquence of their chief orator, Vergniaud, and frequently assembled at the house of the ardent and fascinating Madame Roland to consider the regeneration of their beloved country. But in spite of their enthusiasm they were not statesmen and showed no skill in meeting the troublesome problems that kept arising.

[1] By June, 1791, there were 406 of these affiliated Jacobin clubs. See *Readings*, sect. 37.

The emigrant nobles declared traitors

The Assembly, not unnaturally, promptly turned its attention to the emigrant nobles. These had been joined by the king's elder brother, the count of Provence, who had managed to escape at the time that the royal family had been arrested at Varennes. Having succeeded in inducing the Emperor and the king of Prussia to issue the Declaration of Pillnitz, they continued to collect troops on the Rhine. The Assembly declared that "the Frenchmen assembled on the frontier" were under suspicion of conspiring against their country. The count of Provence was ordered to return within two months or forfeit any possible claim to the throne.[1] Should the other *émigrés* fail to return to France by January 1, 1792, they were to be regarded as convicted traitors, and punished, if caught, with death; their property was to be confiscated.

Harsh measures of the Assembly toward nonjuring clergy

The harsh treatment of the emigrant nobles was perhaps justified by their desertion and treasonable intrigues; but the conduct of the Assembly toward the clergy was impolitic as well as cruel. Those who had refused to pledge themselves to support a system which was in conflict with their religious convictions and which had been condemned by the Pope were commanded to take the prescribed oath within a week, on penalty of losing their income from the State and being put under surveillance as "suspects." As this failed to bring the clergy to terms, the Assembly later (May, 1792) ordered the deportation from the country of those who steadily persisted in their refusal to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. In this way the Assembly aroused the active hostility of a great part of the most conscientious among the lower clergy, who had loyally supported the commons in their fight against the privileged orders. It also lost the confidence of the great mass of faithful Catholics, — merchants, artisans, and peasants, — who had gladly accepted the abolition of the old abuses, but who would not consent to desert their priests at the bidding of the Assembly.

[1] See *Readings*, sect. 37, for the count of Provence's saucy reply.

The Legislative Assembly precipitates a war with Europe

By far the most important act of the Legislative Assembly during the one year of its existence was its precipitation of a war between France and Austria.[1] To many in the Assembly, including the Girondists, it seemed that the existing conditions were intolerable. The emigrant nobles were forming little armies on the boundaries of France and had induced Austria and Prussia to consider interfering in French affairs. The Assembly suspected — what was quite true[2] — that Louis was negotiating with foreign rulers and would be glad to have them intervene and reëstablish him in his old despotic power. The Girondist deputies argued, therefore, that a war against the hated Austria would unite the sympathies of the nation and force the king to show his true character; for he would be obliged either to become the nation's leader or to show himself the traitor they believed him to be.

France declares war on Austria (April 20, 1792)

It was with a heavy heart that Louis XVI, urged on by the clamors of the Girondists, declared war upon Austria on April 20, 1792. Little did the ardent young lawyers of the Assembly surmise that this was the beginning of the most terrific and momentous series of wars that ever swept over Europe, involving, during twenty-three years of almost continuous conflict, every country and people from Ireland to Turkey, and from Norway to Naples. Although the Girondist leaders, Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, and their friend Madame Roland, were the first to be destroyed by the storm they had conjured up, could they have looked forward they would have been consoled to see that the tyrants they hated never permanently regained their old power; that the long wars served to bring the principles of the French Revolution home to all the European peoples, everywhere slowly but surely destroyed the old régime, and gave to the people the liberty and the control of the government which the Girondists had so hotly defended.

[1] See *Readings*, sect. 37, for reasons assigned by the French for going to war.

[2] Ibid., for letter of Louis XVI, December 3, 1791, to the king of Prussia, suggesting the intervention of the foreign powers in French affairs.

The French army was in no condition for war. The officers, who, according to the law, were all nobles, had many of them deserted and joined the *émigrés*. The regular troops were consequently demoralized, and the new national guard had not yet been employed except to maintain order in the towns. Naturally Dumouriez, the Girondist minister of war, first turned his attention to the Austrian Netherlands, which promised to be an easy conquest. The reforms of Joseph II and his attempt to make the Netherlands an integral part of the Austrian state had roused a revolt in 1789. It is true that when Leopold II came to the throne and undid his brother's rash changes, all resistance had subsided. Still there was a strong party in the Netherlands which greeted the French Revolution with enthusiasm, and Dumouriez had good reason to think that the attempts made a century before by Louis XIV to add that region to France might at last be successful. But the raw troops that he collected for the invasion of Belgium ran away as soon as they caught sight of Austrian cavalry. The emigrant nobles rejoiced, and Europe concluded that the "patriots" were made of poor stuff.

The French fail in their first attack on the Austrian Netherlands

Meanwhile matters were going badly for the king of France. The Assembly had passed two bills, one ordering those priests who refused to take the oath to the constitution to leave the country within a month; the other directing the formation, just without the walls of Paris, of a camp of twenty thousand volunteers from various parts of France as a protection to the capital. The king resolved, for very good reasons, to veto both of these measures and to dismiss his Girondist ministry, with the exception of Dumouriez, his really able minister of war, who immediately resigned.

The king vetoes two measures of the Legislative Assembly and dismisses his Girondist ministers (May–June, 1792)

All this served to make the king far more unpopular than ever. The "Austrian woman" or "Madame Veto," as the queen was called, was rightly believed to be actively betraying France, and it is now known that she did send to Austria the plan of campaign which had been adopted before the war began.

Rising of June 20, 1792

On June 20 some of the lesser leaders of the Paris populace resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the Tennis-Court oath. They arranged a procession which was permitted to march through the Riding School where the Assembly sat.

The *sans-culottes*

The ensigns of the mob were a calf's heart on the point of a pike, labeled "the heart of an aristocrat," and a pair of knee breeches representing the older costume of a gentleman, which was now going out of fashion since the Girondists, in order to exhibit their democratic sentiments, had adopted the long trousers which had hitherto been worn only by workingmen. To give up knee breeches and become a "sans-culotte," or breeches-less patriot, had come to be considered an unmistakable indication of love for the Revolution.

Invasion of the Tuileries

After visiting the Assembly, the crowd found their way into the neighboring palace of the Tuileries. They wandered through the beautiful apartments shouting, "Down with Monsieur Veto!" The king might have been killed by some ruffian had he not consented to drink to the health of the "nation" — whose representatives were roughly crowding him into the recess of a window — and put on a red "liberty cap," the badge of the "citizen patriots."

Approach of the Prussian army

This invasion of the Tuileries seemed to the European rulers a new and conclusive proof that the Revolution meant anarchy. Had not the populace of Paris treated the king of France as they might have disported themselves with a poor drunken fellow in the street? Prussia had immediately joined Austria when France declared war against the latter in April, and now the army which Frederick the Great had led to victory was moving, under his old general, the duke of Brunswick, toward the French boundary with a view of restoring Louis XVI to his former independent position.

The country declared in danger (July 11, 1792)

The Assembly now declared the country in danger. Every citizen, whether in town or country, was to report, under penalty of imprisonment, what arms or munitions he possessed. The national guards were to select from their ranks

those who could best join the active army. Every citizen was ordered to wear the tricolored cockade, — the red, white, and blue of the Revolution. In this way the peasants, who had been accustomed to regard war as a matter of purely personal interest to kings, were given to understand that they were not now called upon to risk their lives, as formerly, because the Polish king had lost his throne, or because Maria Theresa had a grudge against Frederick the Great. Now, if they shed their blood, it would be to keep out of France two "tyrants" who proposed to force them to surrender the precious reforms of the past three years and restore to the hated runaway nobles their former privileges.

The proclamation of the duke of Brunswick (July 25, 1792)

As the allies approached the French frontier it became clearer and clearer that the king was utterly incapable of defending the country, even if he were willing to oppose the armies which claimed to be coming to his rescue and with which he was believed to be in league. France seemed almost compelled under the circumstances to rid herself of her traitorous and utterly incompetent ruler. The duke of Brunswick, who was in command of the Prussian army, sealed the king's fate by issuing a manifesto in the name of both the Emperor and the king of Prussia, in which he declared that the allies proposed to put an end to anarchy in France and restore the king to his rightful powers; that the inhabitants of France who dared to oppose the Austrian and Prussian troops "shall be punished immediately according to the most stringent laws of war, and their houses shall be burned." If Paris offered the least violence to king or queen, or again permitted the Tuileries to be invaded, the allies promised to "inflict an ever-to-be-remembered vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction."

The volunteers of Marseilles and their war song

The leaders in Paris now determined to force the Assembly to depose the king. Five hundred members of the national guard of Marseilles were summoned to their aid. This little troop of "patriots" came marching up through France singing

that most stirring of all national hymns, the "Marseillaise," which has ever since borne their name.[1]

The Tuileries again attacked (August 10, 1792)

Danton and other leaders of the insurrection had set their hearts on doing away with the king altogether and establishing a republic. After careful preparations, which were scarcely concealed, the various sections into which Paris was divided arranged to attack the Tuileries on August 10. The men from Marseilles led in this attack. The king, who had been warned, retired from the palace with the queen and the dauphin to the neighboring Riding School where they were respectfully received by the Assembly and assigned a safe place in the newspaper reporters' gallery. The king's Swiss guards fired upon the insurgents, but were overpowered and almost all of them slain. Then the ruffianly element in the mob ransacked the palace and killed the servants. Napoleon Bonaparte, an unknown lieutenant who was watching affairs from across the river, declared that the palace could easily have been defended

[1] This famous song was not meant originally as a republican chant. It had been composed a few months before by Rouget de Lisle at Strassburg. War had just been declared, and it was designed to give heart to the French army on the Rhine. The "tyrants" it refers to were the foreign kings Frederick William II of Prussia and the Emperor, who were attacking France, not Louis XVI. The "Marseillaise" begins as follows :

Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé ;
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est levé. (repeat)
Entendez-vous, dans ces campagnes,
Mugir ces féroces soldats?
Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Égorger vos fils, vos compagnes !
Aux armes, citoyens ! formez vos bataillons !
Marchons, qu'un sang impure abreuve nos sillons.

Que veut cette horde d'esclaves,
De traîtres, de rois conjurés?
Pour qui ces ignobles entraves,
Ces fers dès longtemps préparés? (repeat)
Français, pour nous, ah ! quel outrage,!
Quels transports il doit exciter !
C'est nous qu'on ose méditer
De rendre à l'antique esclavage !
Aux armes, citoyens ! formez vos bataillons !
Marchons, qu'un sang impure abreuve nos sillons.

had not the commander of the guards been brutally murdered before hostilities opened.[1]

The revolutionary commune of Paris

Meanwhile the representatives of the various quarters of Paris had taken possession of the City Hall. They pushed the members of the municipal council off their seats and took their places. In this way a new revolutionary commune was formed, which seized the government of the capital and then sent messengers to demand that the Assembly dethrone the king.

Attitude of the Legislative Assembly

The Assembly refused to abolish kingship, but "suspended" the monarch and put him under guard. They regarded the attack on the Tuileries merely as a reply to the threats of the allies, and endeavored to reassure Europe by proclaiming that France had no idea of making any conquests, but desired to secure the brotherhood of mankind. To illustrate this universal brotherhood, the privileges of French citizenship were conferred upon a number of distinguished foreigners, — Priestley, Wilberforce, Schiller, Washington, and Kosciusko among others. The suffrage in France, which had been limited by the previous Assembly to the citizens who could pay taxes equal to three days' labor, was extended to all, rich and poor alike. Lastly, a new ministry was formed in which Danton, the most conspicuous leader in the insurrection, was made minister of justice.

Three days later a decree which had been proposed by Vergniaud was passed, summoning a national convention to

[1] Of the many patriotic songs which express the spirit of the people during the Revolution, the famous "Carmagnole," which deals with the events of August 10, may be cited. It begins:

Madame Veto avait promis,
Madame Veto avait promis,
De faire égorger tout Paris,
De faire égorger tout Paris.
Mais le coup a manqué
Grâce à nos cannoniers!
Dansons la Carmagnole!
Vive le son, vive le son,
Dansons la Carmagnole,
Vive le son du canon!

Why monarchy was doomed in France

draft a new constitution. Although a great part of France was still loyal to the monarchy, it was evident that under the circumstances this convention would be forced to establish a republic. What else could it do? The king and queen were in league with the foreign enemy whom the king's two brothers had induced to invade France. The natural heir to the throne was a boy of seven to whose weak hands it was impossible to intrust the public welfare. These were strong arguments for the republican leaders and newspaper editors, especially as they had behind them the resolute insurrectionary commune of Paris. France must find a substitute for her ancient kings, who had come to seem little better than the feudal lords of whom they had been, after all, the chief. In short, the monarchial constitution which had not yet been in force a year had already become an anachronism.

Appalling task of the Convention

So the Legislative Assembly gave way to the Convention, whose task was truly appalling since it had not only to draft a new constitution to suit both monarchists and republicans, but to conduct the government, repel invading armies, keep down the Paris mob, — in a word, see France through the Reign of Terror.

The Reign of Terror

France proclaimed a republic (September 22, 1792)

23. The Convention met on the 21st of September, and its first act was to abolish the ancient monarchy and proclaim France a republic. It seemed to the enthusiasts of the time that a new era of liberty had dawned, now that the long oppression by "despots" was ended forever. The twenty-second day of September, 1792, was reckoned as the first day of the Year One of French Liberty.[1]

[1] A committee of the Convention was appointed to draw up a new republican calendar. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each. The five days preceding September 22, at the end of the year, were holidays. Each month was divided into three *décades*, and each "tenth day" (*décadi*) was a holiday. The days were no longer dedicated to saints, but to agricultural implements, vegetables, domestic animals, etc.

The September massacres (1792)

Meanwhile the usurping Paris commune had taken matters into its own hands and had brought discredit upon the cause of liberty by one of the most atrocious acts in history. On the pretext that Paris was full of traitors who sympathized with the Austrians and the emigrant nobles, they had filled the prisons with three thousand citizens, including many of the priests who had refused to take the oath required by the Constitution. On September 2 and 3, hundreds of these were executed with scarcely a pretense of a trial. The excuse offered was: "How can we go away to the war and leave behind us three thousand prisoners who may break out and destroy our wives and our children!" The members of the commune who perpetrated this deed probably hoped to terrify those who might still dream of returning to the old system of government.

The Prussian army checked at Valmy

Late in August the Prussians crossed the French boundary and on September 2 took the fortress of Verdun. It now seemed as if there was nothing to prevent their marching upon Paris. The French general, Dumouriez, blocked the advance of the Prussian army, however, at Valmy, scarcely a hundred miles from the capital, and forced the enemy to retreat without fighting a pitched battle. Notwithstanding the fear of the French, King Frederick William II of Prussia (who had succeeded his uncle, Frederick the Great, six years before) had but little interest in the war. As for the Austrian troops, they were lagging far behind, for both powers were far more absorbed in a second partition of Poland, which was approaching, than in the fate of the French king.

The French occupy Savoy, the Rhine valley, and the Netherlands

The French were able, therefore, in spite of their disorganization, not only to expel the Prussians but to carry the Revolution beyond the bounds of France. They invaded Germany and took several important towns on the Rhine, including Mayence, which gladly opened its gates to them. They also occupied Savoy on the southeast. Then Dumouriez led his barefooted, ill-equipped volunteers into the Austrian Netherlands.

This time they did not run away, but, shouting the "Marseillaise," they defeated the Austrians at Jemappes (November 6) and were soon in possession of the whole country.

How the Convention proposed to spread the Revolution abroad (December 15, 1792)

The Convention now proposed to use its armies to revolutionize Europe. It issued a proclamation addressed to the peoples of the countries that France was occupying: "We have driven out your tyrants. Show yourselves freemen and we will protect you from their vengeance." Feudal dues, unjust taxes, and all the burdens which had been devised by the "tyrants" were forthwith abolished, and the French nation declared that it would treat as enemies every people who, "refusing liberty and equality, or renouncing them, may wish to maintain or recall its prince or the privileged classes." [1]

Trial and execution of the king (January, 1793)

Meanwhile the Convention was puzzled to determine what would best be done with the king. A considerable party felt that he was guilty of treason in secretly encouraging the foreign powers to come to his aid. He was therefore brought to trial, and when it came to a final vote he was, by a small majority, condemned to death. He mounted the scaffold on January 21, 1793, with the fortitude of a martyr. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that, through his earlier weakness and indecision, he brought untold misery upon his own kingdom and upon Europe at large. The French people had not dreamed of a republic until his absolute incompetence forced them, in self-defense, to abolish the monarchy in the hope of securing a more efficient government.

The execution of Louis XVI solidifies the alliance against France

The execution of Louis XVI had immediate and unhappy effects. The Convention had thrown down the head of their king as a challenge to the "despots" of Europe; the monarchs accepted the challenge and the French republic soon found all the powers of Europe ranged against it. Nowhere did the tragic event of January 21 produce more momentous results than in England. George III went into mourning and ordered the French envoy to be expelled from the kingdom;

[1] This decree may be found in the *Readings*, sect. 38.

FRANCE
during the Revolution
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 25 50 100 150
6° Longitude West 4° from Greenwich 2° 0°
8° 6° 4° 2° 0°
50° 48° 46° 44° 42°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BAY OF BISCAY
Southampton
Dover
Brighton
Portsmouth
I. OF WIGHT
Exeter
Dieppe
ALDERNEY
CHANNEL ISLANDS
GUERNSEY
JERSEY
Cherbourg
Havre
St-Lo
Caen
CALVADOS
EURE
SEINE INFERIEURE
Evreux
USHANT D.
Brest
COTES DU NORD
FINISTERE
Quimper
ILLE ET VILAINE
Rennes
Alencon
ORNE
MANCHE
Le Mans
MORBIHAN
L'Orient
Vannes
SARTHE
BELLE ISLE
LOIRE INFERIEURE
Nantes
Loire
Angers
Tours
INDRE ET LOIRE
VENDEE
DEUX SEVRES
Poitiers
VIENNE
La Rochelle
CHARENTE
CHARENTE INFERIEURE
DORDOGNE
Dordogne
Bordeaux
GIRONDE
LOT ET GARONNE
Agen
LANDES
Montauban
Santander
Bayonne
GERS
Toulouse
Bilbao
St. Sebastian
BASSES PYRENEES
Pau
HAUTES PYRENEES
PYRENEES
Andorre
R. Ebro
Saragossa
SPAIN

AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
Brussels
Neerwinden
Liege
Lille
Fleurus
Conde
Jemappes
Watringes
Arras
R. Meuse
Coblentz
Mayence
Worms
Luxembourg
Montmedy
Laon
ARDENNES
AISNE
Varennes
Verdun
MOSELLE
Metz
Valmy
MEUSE
Marne
MARNE
MEURTHE
Nancy
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Strassburg
BAS RHIN
HAUT RHIN
R. Rhine
R. Aube
Troyes
HAUTE MARNE
VOSGES
Colmar
Chaumont
Lake of Constance
YONNE
Auxerre
SAONE
HAUTE Saone
Basel
COTE D'OR
Dijon
DOUBS
Besancon
SWITZERLAND
NIEVRE
JURA
Lausanne
SAONE ET LOIRE
Lake Geneva
Loire
Macon
Geneva
AIN
Lake Maggiore
RHONE
Lyons
Chambery
Milan
DOME
THE ALPS
ISERE
Grenoble
Turin
R. Po
HAUTE LOIRE
Vizille
Le Puy
Mts. Rhone
Valence
Genoa
ARDECHE
DROME
HAUTES ALPES
LOZERE
CEVENNES
VAUCLUSE
BASSES ALPES
Gulf of Genoa
GARD
Nimes
Avignon
Montpellier
BOUCHES DU RHONE
Nice
HERAULT
VAR
CAPRAJA
ELBA
Marseilles
Toulon
Gulf of Lions
Bastia
SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
CORSICA
Ajaccio
4°
6°
8°
10°
12°
50°
48°
46°
44°
42°
Longitude East 6° from Greenwich 8°

even Pitt, forgetting the work of Cromwell and the Puritan revolutionists, declared the killing of the French king to be the most awful and atrocious crime in all recorded history. All England's old fears of French aggression were aroused. It was clear that the Republic was bent upon carrying out the plans of Louis XIV for annexing the Austrian Netherlands and Holland and thereby extending her frontiers to the Rhine. Indeed there was no telling where the excited nation, in its fanatical hatred of kings, would stop.

Pitt declares that England must oppose the Revolution

On February 1 Pitt made a speech in the House of Commons in which he accused the French of having broken their promises not to conquer their neighbors or mix in their affairs. They had seized the Netherlands and had declared the river Scheldt open to commerce although it had been closed by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) in the interests of the Dutch ports. They had already occupied Savoy and now threatened Holland. They loudly proclaimed their intention to free all peoples from the dominion of their rulers. Consequently the Revolution was, Pitt urged, incompatible with the peace of Europe, and England must in honor join the allies and save Europe from falling under the yoke of France.[1]

France declares war on England (February 1, 1793) and gives her reasons

On the same day that Pitt made his speech, the French Convention boldly declared war upon England and Holland on the ground that "the king of England has not ceased, especially since the Revolution of August 10, 1792, to give the French nation proofs of his ill-will and his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads." He had expelled the French envoy, flooded France with forged *assignats*, prevented grain from reaching French ports, and drawn the "servile" Dutch Stadholder into an alliance against France. No one could have foreseen that England, the last of the European powers to join the coalition against France, was to prove her most

[1] Many Englishmen sympathized with the Revolution. Against Pitt's arguments some of the Whigs, especially Fox, urged in vain the bloody manifesto of the duke of Brunswick which had maddened the French, and the atrocious conduct of the allies in the partition of Poland upon which they were just then engaged.

persistent enemy. For over twenty years the struggle was to continue, until an English ship carried Napoleon Bonaparte to his island prison.

Second partition of Poland (1793)

Catharine the Great abhorred the revolutionists, but she had contented herself with encouraging Austria and Prussia to fight for Louis XVI and the rights of monarchs in general, while she prepared to seize more than her share of Poland. Frederick William and the Emperor were well aware of her plans, and consequently felt that they must keep their eyes on her rather than move on Paris. This accounts, in a measure, for the ease with which the French had repulsed the allies and taken possession of the Austrian Netherlands in the autumn of 1792. It was in the following January that Prussia and Russia arranged the second partition of Poland. Austria, as has been explained,[1] was treated very shabbily and forced to go without her share on the flimsy pretense that Frederick William and Catharine would use their good offices to induce the elector of Bavaria to exchange his possessions for the Austrian Netherlands, — which were at that moment in the hands of Dumouriez's republican troops.

French driven from the Netherlands; desertion of Dumouriez

This adjustment of the differences between the allies gave a wholly new aspect to the war with France. When, in March, 1793, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire joined the coalition, France was at war with all her neighbors. The Austrians defeated Dumouriez at Neerwinden, March 18, and drove the French out of the Netherlands. Thereupon Dumouriez, disgusted by the failure of the Convention to support him and by their execution of the king, and angered by the outrageous manner in which their commissioners levied contributions from the people to whom they had brought "liberty," deserted to the enemy with a few hundred soldiers who consented to follow him.

Encouraged by this success, the allies began to consider partitioning France as they had Poland. Austria might take

[1] See above, p. 69.

the northern regions for herself and then assign Alsace and Lorraine to Bavaria in exchange for the Bavarian territory on her boundaries, which Austria had long wished to annex. England could have Dunkirk and what remained of the French colonies. A Russian diplomat suggested that Spain and the king of Sardinia should also help themselves. "This done, let us all work in concert to give what remains of France a stable and permanent monarchical government. She will in this way become a second-rate power which will harm no one, and we shall get rid of this democratic firebrand which threatens to set Europe aflame."

The allies consider a possible partition of France

The loss of the Netherlands and the treason of their best general made a deep impression upon the members of the Convention. If the new French republic was to defend itself against the "tyrants" without and its many enemies within, it could not wait for the Convention to draw up an elaborate, permanent constitution. An efficient government must be devised immediately to maintain the loyalty of the nation to the republic, and to raise and equip armies and direct their commanders. The Convention accordingly put the government into the hands of a small committee, consisting originally of nine, later of twelve, of its members. This famous Committee of Public Safety was given practically unlimited powers. "We must," one of the leaders exclaimed, "establish the despotism of liberty in order to crush the despotism of kings."

The French government put in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, April, 1793

Within the Convention itself there was dissension, especially between two groups of active men who came into bitter conflict over the policy to be pursued. There was, first, the party of the Girondists, led by Vergniaud, Brissot, and others. They were enthusiastic republicans and counted among their numbers some speakers of remarkable eloquence. The Girondists had enjoyed the control of the Legislative Assembly in 1792 and had been active in bringing on the war with Austria and Prussia. They hoped in that way to complete the Revolution by exposing the bad faith of the king and his sympathy with the

The Girondists

emigrant nobles. They were not, however, men of sufficient decision to direct affairs in the terrible difficulties in which France found herself after the execution of the king. They consequently lost their influence, and a new party, called the "Mountain" from the high seats that they occupied in the Convention, gained the ascendency.

The extreme republicans, called the "Mountain"

This was composed of the most vigorous and uncompromising republicans, like Danton, Robespierre, and Saint-Just, who had obtained control of the Jacobin clubs and were supported by the commune of Paris. They believed that the French people had been depraved by the slavery to which their kings had subjected them. Everything, they argued, which suggested the former rule of kings must be wiped out. A new France should be created, in which liberty, equality, and fraternity should take the place of the tyranny of princes, the insolence of nobles, and the impostures of the priests. The leaders of the Mountain held that the mass of the people were by nature good and upright, but that there were a number of adherents of the old system who would, if they could, undo the great work of the Revolution and lead the people back to slavery under king and Church. All who were suspected by the Mountain of having the least sympathy with the nobles or the persecuted priests were branded as "counter-revolutionary." The Mountain was willing to resort to any measures, however shocking, to rid the nation of those suspected of counter-revolutionary tendencies, and its leaders relied upon the populace of Paris to aid them in carrying out their designs.

Girondist leaders expelled from the Convention, June 2, 1793

The Girondists, on the other hand, abhorred the restless populace of Paris and the fanatics who composed the commune of the capital. They argued that Paris was not France, and that it had no right to assume a despotic rule over the nation. They proposed that the commune should be dissolved and that the Convention should remove to another town where they would not be subject to the intimidation of the Paris mob. The Mountain thereupon accused the Girondists of an attempt

to break up the republic, "one and indivisible," by questioning the supremacy of Paris and the duty of the provinces to follow the lead of the capital. The mob, thus encouraged, rose against the Girondists. On June 2 it surrounded the meeting place of the Convention, and deputies of the commune demanded the expulsion from the Convention of the Girondist leaders, who were placed under arrest.

France threatened with civil war

The conduct of the Mountain and its ally, the Paris commune, now began to arouse opposition in various parts of France, and the country was threatened with civil war at a time when it was absolutely necessary that all Frenchmen should combine in the loyal defense of their country against the invaders who were again approaching its boundaries.

The revolt of the peasants of Brittany against the Convention

The first and most serious opposition came from the peasants of Brittany, especially in the department of La Vendée. There the people still loved the monarchy and their priests, and even the nobles; they refused to send their sons to fight for a republic which had killed their king and was persecuting those clergymen who declined to take an oath which their conscience forbade.

Revolt of the cities against the Convention

The cities of Marseilles and Bordeaux were indignant at the treatment to which the Girondist deputies were subjected in Paris, and they also organized a revolt against the Convention. In the manufacturing city of Lyons the merchants hated the Jacobins and their republic, since the demand for silk and other luxuries produced at Lyons had come from the nobility and clergy, who were now no longer in a position to buy. The prosperous classes were therefore exasperated when the commissioners of the Convention demanded money and troops. The citizens gathered an army of ten thousand men, placed it under a royalist leader, and prepared to bid defiance to the Jacobins who controlled the Convention.

Meanwhile France's enemies were again advancing against her. The Austrians laid siege to the border fortress of Condé, which they captured on July 10, 1793, and two weeks later

French fortresses fall into the hands of Austria and England (July, 1793)

the English took Valenciennes. In this way the allies gained a foothold in France itself. Once more they were hardly more than a hundred miles away from the capital, and there appeared to be no reason why they should not immediately march upon Paris and wreak the vengeance which the duke of Brunswick had threatened in his proclamation of the previous year. The Prussians had driven the French garrison out of Mayence and were ready to advance into Alsace. Toulon, the great naval station of southern France, now revolted against the Convention. It proclaimed the little dauphin as king, under the title of Louis XVII, and welcomed the English fleet as an ally.

Carnot organizes the French armies

The French Republic seemed to be lost; but never did a body of men exhibit such marvelous energy as the Committee of Public Safety. Carnot, who was to earn the title of Organizer of Victory, became a member of the committee in August. He immediately called for a general levy of troops and soon had no less than seven hundred and fifty thousand men. These he divided into thirteen armies which he dispatched against the allies. Each general was accompanied by two "deputies on mission" who were always on the watch lest the commanders desert, as Lafayette had done after August 10, 1792, and Dumouriez a few months later. These Jacobin deputies not only roused the patriotism of the raw recruits, but they let it be known that for a general to lose a battle meant death.

The French easily repulse the allies

Fortunately for the Convention the allies did not march on Paris, but Austria began occupying the border towns and the English moved westward to seize the coveted Dunkirk. The French were able to drive off the English and Hanoverians who were besieging Dunkirk, and in October General Jourdan defeated the Austrians at Wattignies. Since Frederick William continued to give his attention mainly to Poland, there was little danger from the duke of Brunswick and his army, so that by the close of 1793 all danger from foreign invasion was over for the time being.

As for the revolt of the cities and of the Vendean peasants, the Committee of Public Safety showed itself able to cope with that danger too. It first turned its attention to Lyons. Some of the troops from the armies on the frontiers were recalled and the city was bombarded and captured. Then Collot d'Herbois, one of the stanchest believers in terrorism, was sent down to demonstrate to the conquered city what a fearful thing it was to rise against the Mountain. Nearly two thousand persons were executed, or rather massacred, as traitors, within five months. Indeed the Convention declared its intention to annihilate the great and flourishing city and rename its site Freedville (*Commune affranchie*). Happily a close friend of Robespierre, who was sent to execute this decree, contented himself with destroying forty houses.

The revolt of the cities suppressed by the Committee of Public Safety

Frightened by the awful fate of Lyons, the cities of Bordeaux and Marseilles judged it useless to oppose the Convention and admitted its representatives, who executed three or four hundred "traitors" in each place. Toulon held out until an artillery officer hitherto entirely unknown, a young Corsican by the name of Napoleon Bonaparte, suggested occupying a certain promontory in the harbor, from which he was able to train his cannon on the British fleet which was supporting the city. It sailed away with some refugees, leaving the town to the vengeance of the Convention, December 19, 1793.

Bonaparte at Toulon

Although the Vendean peasants fought bravely and defeated several corps of the national guard sent against them, their insurrection was also put down in the autumn — at least for a time — with atrocious cruelty. A representative of the Convention at Nantes had perhaps two thousand Vendean insurgents shot or drowned in the Loire. This was probably the most horrible episode of the Revolution, and was not approved by the Convention, which recalled its bloodthirsty agent, who was finally sent to the scaffold for his crimes.

Defeat of the peasants of the Vendée

In spite of the extraordinary success with which the Committee of Public Safety had crushed its opponents at home and

The Reign of Terror

repelled the armies of the monarchs who proposed to dismember France, it was clear that the task of rendering the Revolution complete and permanent was by no means accomplished. The revolt of the Vendée and of the cities had shown that there were thousands of Frenchmen who hated the Jacobins. All such were viewed by the Convention as guilty of holding counter-revolutionary sentiments and therefore "suspect." It was argued that any one who was not an ardent and demonstrative *sans-culotte* might at any time become a traitor. In order to prevent this and force people to be faithful to the republic, the Convention decided that they must be terrorized by observing the fearful vengeance which the republic wrought upon traitors. The Reign of Terror was only a systematic attempt to secure the success of the Revolution by summarily punishing or intimidating its enemies. While it had no definite beginning or end, it lasted, in its more acute stages, for about ten months, — from September, 1793 to July, 1794.

The Revolutionary Tribunal

Even before the fall of the Girondists a special court had been established in Paris, known as the Revolutionary Tribunal. Its function was to try all those who were suspected of treasonable acts. At first the cases were very carefully considered and few persons were condemned. In September, after the revolt of the cities, two new men who had been implicated in the September massacres were added to the Committee of Public Safety. They were selected with the particular purpose of intimidating the counter-revolutionary party by bringing all the disaffected to the guillotine.[1] A terrible law was passed, declaring all those to be suspects who by their conduct or remarks had shown themselves enemies of liberty. The former nobles, including the wives, fathers, mothers, and children of the "emigrants,"

[1] In former times it had been customary to inflict capital punishment by decapitating the victim with a sword. At the opening of the Revolution a certain Dr. Guillotin recommended a new device, which consisted of a heavy knife sliding downward between two uprights. This instrument, called after him the guillotine, which has until very recently been used in France, was more speedy and certain in its action than the sword in the hands of the executioner.

unless they had constantly manifested their attachment to the Revolution, were ordered to be imprisoned.

Execution of Marie Antoinette (October, 1793)

In October Marie Antoinette, after a trial in which false and atrocious charges were urged against her in addition to the treasonable acts of which she had been guilty, was executed in Paris. A number of high-minded and distinguished persons, including Madame Roland and a group of Girondists, suffered a like fate. But the most horrible acts of the Reign of Terror were, as has been noted, perpetrated in the provinces, especially at Lyons and Nantes.

Schism in the party of the Mountain

It was not long before the members of the radical party who were conducting the government began to disagree among themselves. Danton, a man of fiery zeal for the republic, who had hitherto enjoyed great popularity with the Jacobins, became tired of bloodshed and convinced that the system of terror was no longer necessary. Camille Desmoulins, another ardent republican, began to attack the harsher Jacobins as he had earlier attacked the unpractical Girondists. He started a witty but very serious little newspaper, called *The Old Cordelier*, in the interests of moderation.

The *Vieux Cordelier* of Desmoulins

Desmoulins began by showing that the severities of the Reign of Terror were, after all, as nothing compared with the atrocities of the earlier Roman emperors which one read about in Tacitus. "Vice, pillage, and crime are diseases in republics, whereas rogues are absolutely necessary to the maintenance of a monarchy." In his next issue he ceased to extenuate the work of the guillotine and pleaded for clemency. "You would exterminate all your enemies by the guillotine! What madness! Can you possibly destroy one enemy on the scaffold without making ten others among his family and friends?" The strong and courageous, as Desmoulins urged, had emigrated or perished at Lyons or in the Vendée. The cowardly or sick who remained were no source of danger. So Terror should no longer be the order of the day, and a committee of clemency should take the place of the revolutionary army that

was traveling about the country with a movable guillotine. "This committee of clemency," he said, "will complete the Revolution, for clemency itself is a revolutionary measure, the most efficient of all, when it is wisely dealt out."[1]

Hébert and the ultra-radicals

On the other hand, the radical leader of the Paris commune, Hébert, had also his newspaper, an indecent sheet which called on the people to complete the Revolution. He proposed that the worship of Reason should be substituted for that of God and arranged a service in the cathedral of Notre Dame where Reason, in the person of a handsome actress, took her place on the altar.

Robespierre and Saint-Just

Robespierre, who was a member of the Committee of Public Safety, sympathized neither with the moderates nor with Hébert and his Goddess of Reason. He himself enjoyed a great reputation for high ideals, republican virtue, and incorruptibility. He and Saint-Just had read their Rousseau with prayerful attention and dreamed of a glorious republic in which there should be neither rich nor poor; in which men and women should live in independence and rear robust and healthy children. These should be turned over to the republic at five years of age to be educated in Spartan fashion by the nation; they were to eat together and to live on roots, fruit, vegetables, milk, cheese, bread, and water. The Eternal was to be worshiped in temples, and in these temples at certain times every man should be required publicly to state who were his friends. Any man who said he had no friends, or was convicted of ingratitude, was to be banished.[2]

Robespierre has the leaders of both the moderates and extremists executed (March and April, 1794)

Robespierre was, however, insignificant and unattractive in person and a tiresome speaker. He had none of the magnetism of Danton and none of the wit and charm of Desmoulins. He coldly advocated the execution of these two former associates for attempting to betray the republic and frustrate the

[1] See extracts from *The Old Cordelier* in *Readings*, sect. 38.

[2] See *Readings*, sect. 38, for extracts from Saint-Just's book on *Republican Institutions*.

Revolution by their ill-timed moderation. On the other hand, as a deist, he believed that Hébert and his followers were discrediting the Revolution by their atheism. Accordingly, through his influence, the leaders of both the moderate and the extreme parties were arrested and sent to the guillotine (March and April, 1794).

Robespierre's brief period of influence

Robespierre now enjoyed a brief dictatorship. He read in the Convention a report on a system of festivals which were to help regenerate the land by celebrating such abstractions as liberty, equality, glory, immortality, frugality, stoicism, and old age. He had a decree passed proclaiming that the French nation believed in God and the immortality of the soul, and organized a ceremony in honor of the Supreme Being in which he himself assumed a very conspicuous rôle as a sort of high priest of deism. The Convention was so far in sympathy with the aspirations of Robespierre and Saint-Just as to assert that "it is necessary to refashion a people completely if it is to be made free. Its prejudices must be destroyed, its habits changed, its needs limited, its vices eradicated, and its desires purified. Strong forces must be invoked to develop social virtues and repress the passions of men."

Law of 22d Prairial heightens the Reign of Terror

In order the more effectively to destroy his enemies and those who opposed his designs for the regeneration of society, Robespierre had the Revolutionary Tribunal divided into four sections (June 10, 1794), so that it could work far more rapidly than hitherto. It could condemn any suspected "enemy of the people" on almost any evidence. The accused were in many cases deprived of counsel and no witnesses were examined. The result was that in seven weeks thirteen hundred and seventy-six persons were sent to the guillotine in Paris, whereas only eleven hundred and sixty-five had been executed from December 1 of the previous year to the passage of Robespierre's terrible new law in June.

It was of course impossible for Robespierre to maintain his power long. Many of his colleagues in the Convention began

Fall of Robespierre on the 9th Thermidor (July 27, 1794)

to fear that they might at any moment follow Danton and Hébert to the guillotine. They did not sympathize very deeply with Robespierre's ideas; as one of the most ardent terrorists said, "Robespierre begins to bore me with his Supreme Being." A conspiracy was formed against him and the Convention was induced to order his arrest. When, on July 27, — the 9th Thermidor of the new republican calendar,— he appeared in the Convention and attempted to speak he was silenced by cries of "Down with the tyrant!" In his consternation he could not at first recover his voice, whereupon one of the deputies shouted, "The blood of Danton chokes him!" Finally he called upon the commune of Paris to defend him, but the Convention was able to maintain its authority and to send Robespierre and Saint-Just, his fellow-idealist, to the guillotine. It is sad enough that two of the most sincere and upright of all the revolutionists should, in their misguided and over-earnest efforts to better the condition of their fellow-men, have become objects of execration to posterity.

Reaction after the overthrow of Robespierre

In successfully overthrowing Robespierre the Convention and Committee of Public Safety had rid the country of the only man who, owing to his popularity and his reputation for uprightness, could have prolonged the Reign of Terror. There was almost an immediate reaction after his death, for the country was weary of executions. The Revolutionary Tribunal henceforth convicted very few indeed of those who were brought before it. It made an exception, however, of those who had themselves been the leaders in the worst atrocities, as, for example, the public prosecutor, who had brought hundreds of victims to the guillotine in Paris, and the terrorists who had ordered the massacres at Nantes and Lyons. Within a few months the Jacobin Club at Paris was closed by the Convention and the commune of Paris abolished.

Review of the Reign of Terror

The importance and nature of the Reign of Terror are so commonly misunderstood that it is worth our while to stop a moment to reconsider it as a whole. When the Estates

General met, the people of France were loyal to their king but wished to establish a more orderly government; they wanted to vote the taxes, have some share in making the laws, and abolish the old feudal abuses, including the unreasonable privileges of the nobility and the clergy. The nobility were frightened and began to run away. The king and queen urged foreign powers to intervene and even tried to escape to join the traitorous emigrant nobles. Austrian and Prussian troops reached the frontier and the Prussian commander threatened to destroy Paris unless the royal family were given complete liberty. Paris, aided by the men of Marseilles, retaliated by deposing the king, and the Convention decided by a narrow majority to execute Louis XVI for treason, of which he was manifestly guilty. In the summer, just as Austria and England were taking the French border fortresses of Condé and Valenciennes, the cities of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon and the peasants of the Vendée revolted. The necessity of making head against invasion and putting down the insurrection at home led to harsh measures on the part of the Convention and its Committee of Public Safety. First stage

When the immediate danger was dispelled Robespierre, Saint-Just, and others sought to exterminate the enemies of that utopian republic of which they dreamed and in which every man was to have a fair chance in life. This led to the second, and perhaps less excusable, phase of the Reign of Terror. To the executions sanctioned by the government must be added the massacres and lynchings perpetrated by mobs or by irresponsible agents of the Convention. Yet Camille Desmoulins was right when he claimed that the blood that had flowed "for the eternal emancipation of a nation of twenty-five millions" was as nothing to that shed by the Roman emperors (and it may be added, by bishops and kings), often in less worthy causes. Second stage

Then it should be remembered that a great part of the French people were nearly or quite unaffected by the Reign

A great part of the French people unaffected by the Reign of Terror

of Terror. In Paris very few of the citizens stood in any fear of the guillotine. The city was not the gloomy place that it has been pictured by Dickens and other story-tellers. Never did the inhabitants appear happier than when the country was being purged of the supposed traitors; never were the theaters and restaurants more crowded. The guillotine was making way with the enemies of liberty, so the women wore tiny guillotines as ornaments, and the children were given toy guillotines and amused themselves decapitating the figures of "aristocrats."

Sound reforms introduced by the Convention

Moreover the Convention had by no means confined its attention during the months of the Reign of Terror to hunting down "suspects" and executing traitors. Its committees had raised a million troops, organized and equipped them with arms, and sent them forth to victory. The reforms sketched out by the National Assembly had been developed and carried on. The Convention had worked out a great system of elementary education which should form the basis of the new republic. It had drafted a new code of laws which should replace the confusion of the *ancien régime*, although it was left for Napoleon to order its revision and gain the credit of the enterprise. The republican calendar was not destined to survive, but the rational system of weights and measures known as the metric system, which the Convention introduced, has been adopted by most of the nations of Continental Europe and is used by men of science in England and America.

The metric system

Anxiety of the Convention to blot out all suggestions of the past

In its anxiety to obliterate every suggestion of the old order of things, the Convention went to excess. The old terms of address, Monsieur and Madame, seemed to smack of the *ancien régime* and so were replaced by "citizen" and "citizeness." The days were no longer dedicated to St. Peter, St. James, St. Bridget, or St. Catharine, but to the cow, the horse, celery, the turnip, the harrow, the pitchfork, or other useful creature or utensil. The Place Louis XV became Place de la Revolution. Throne Square was rechristened Place of the Overturned

Throne. The Convention endeavored to better the condition of the poor man and deprive the rich of their superfluity. The land which had been taken from the Church and the runaway nobles was sold in small parcels and the number of small landholders was thus greatly increased. In May, 1793, the Convention tried to keep down the price of grain by passing the Law of the Maximum, which forbade the selling of grain and flour at a higher price than that fixed by each commune. This was later extended to other forms of food and worked quite as badly as the grain laws which Turgot had abolished.

The Convention's efforts to improve the condition of the poorer classes

The reckless increase of the paper currency, or *assignats*, and the efforts to prevent their depreciation by a law which made it a capital offense to refuse to accept them at par caused infinite confusion. There were about forty billions of francs of these *assignats* in circulation at the opening of the year 1796. At that time it required nearly three hundred francs in paper to procure one in specie.

Trouble with depreciated paper money

At last the Convention turned its attention once more to the special work for which it had been summoned in September, 1792, and drew up a constitution for the republic. This was preceded by a "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the Citizen," which summed up, as the first Declaration of Rights had done, the great principles of the Revolution.[1] The lawmaking power is vested by the Constitution of the Year III in a Legislative Body to be composed of two chambers, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Elders (consisting of two hundred and fifty members). Members of the latter were to be at least forty years old and either married or widowers. Practically all men over twenty-one years of age were permitted to vote for the members of the electoral colleges, which in turn chose the members of the

Constitution of the Year III

[1] All the duties of man and the citizen are derived, according to this constitution, from two principles which are graven by nature in the hearts of all: Ne faites pas à autrui ce que vous ne voudriez pas qu'on vous fît. Faites constamment aux autres le bien que vous voudriez en recevoir. This is after all only an amplification of the Golden Rule.

The Directory

Legislative Body. To take the place of a king, a Directory composed of five members chosen by the Legislative Body was invested with the executive power. One director was to retire each year, as well as one third of the members of the Legislative Body (a system suggesting that of the United States Senate).

Opposition to the convention

Before the Convention completed the constitution its enemies had become very strong. The richer classes had once more got the upper hand; they abhorred the Convention which had killed their king and oppressed them, and they favored the reëstablishment of the monarchy without the abuses of the *ancien régime*. The Convention, fearing for itself and the republic, decreed that in the approaching election, at least two thirds of the new Legislative Body were to be chosen from the existing members of the Convention. Believing that it could rely upon the armies, it ordered that the constitution should be submitted to the soldiers for ratification and that bodies of troops should be collected near Paris to maintain order during the elections. These decrees roused the anger of the wealthier districts of Paris which did not hesitate to organize a revolt and prepare to attack the Convention.

The 13th Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795)

The latter, however, chose for its defender that same Napoleon Bonaparte who, after helping to take Toulon, had resigned his commission rather than leave the artillery and join the infantry as he had been ordered to do, and was earning a bare subsistence as a clerk in a government office. Bonaparte stationed the regulars around the building in which the Convention sat and then loaded his cannon with grapeshot. When the bourgeois national guard attacked him, he gave the order to fire and easily swept them from the streets.[1] The royalists were defeated. The day had been saved for the Convention by the army and by a military genius who was destined soon not only to make himself master of France but to build up an empire comprising a great part of western Europe.

[1] More people were killed on the 13th Vendémiaire than on August 10, 1792, when the monarchy was overthrown.

REFERENCES

End of the National Assembly: MATHEWS, *French Revolution*, chap. xiii, pp. 166–181; STEPHENS, *History of the French Revolution*, Vol. I, chap. xv, pp. 434–470; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 199–210.

Opening of the War with Europe: MATHEWS, pp. 182–195; STEPHENS, Vol. II, pp. 27–44; FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 28–40.

Conditions in Europe in 1792: FYFFE, chap. i, pp. 1–27.

Tenth of August and the September Massacres: STEPHENS, Vol. II, chap. iv, pp. 107–150; MATHEWS, pp. 195–206; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 228–244.

Establishment of the Republic: MATHEWS, chap. xv, pp. 207–224; STEPHENS, Vol. II, chap. v, pp. 151–180.

Reign of Terror in Paris: STEPHENS, Vol. II, chap. x, pp. 321–361; MATHEWS, chap. xvi, pp. 224–233; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. xii, pp. 338–371.

Reign of Terror in the Provinces: MATHEWS, chap. xvii, pp. 234–251; STEPHENS, Vol. II, chap. xi, pp. 362–414.

Robespierre: MATHEWS, chap. xviii, pp. 252–265.

Reaction after Thermidor: MATHEWS, chap. xix, pp. 266–285; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. xiii, pp. 372–397.

Course of the War to 1795: FYFFE, chap. ii, pp. 28–73; *Cambridge Modern History*, chap. xiv, pp. 398–446.

CHAPTER VIII

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Bonaparte's First Italian Campaign

How the Revolution transformed and democratized the army

24. The French army had undergone a complete transformation during the Revolution. The rules of the *ancien régime* had required all officers to be nobles, and many of these had left France after the fall of the Bastille. Others, like Lafayette and Dumouriez, who had at first favored the Revolution, deserted soon after the opening of the war. Still others, like Custine and Beauharnais (the Empress Josephine's first husband), were executed because the "deputies on mission" believed that they were responsible for the defeats that the armies of the French republic had suffered.

The former rigid discipline disappeared, and the hundreds of thousands of volunteers who pressed forward to defend and extend the boundaries of the Republic found new leaders, who rose from the ranks, and who hit upon novel and quite unconventional ways of beating the enemy. Any one might now become a general if he could prove his ability to lead troops to victory. Moreau was a lawyer from Brittany, Murat had been a waiter, Jourdan before the Revolution had been selling cloth in Limoges. In short, the army, like the State, had become democratic.

The Napoleonic Period

Among the commanders who by means of their talents rose to take the places of the "aristocrats" was one who was to dominate the history of Europe as no man before him had ever done. For fifteen years his biography and the political history of Europe are so nearly synonymous that the period we are now entering upon may properly be called after him, the Napoleonic Period.

Napoleon Bonaparte was hardly a Frenchman by birth. It is true that the island of Corsica where he was born, August 15, 1769, had at that time belonged to France for a year,[1] but Napoleon's native language was Italian, and he was descended from Italian ancestors who had come to the island in the sixteenth century. His father, Carlo Buonaparte, although he claimed to be of noble extraction, busied himself with the profession of the law in the town of Ajaccio where Napoleon was probably born. He was poor and found it hard to support his eight boys and girls, all of whom were one day to become kings and queens, or at worst, princes and princesses. Accordingly he took his two elder sons, Joseph and Napoleon, to France, where Joseph was to be educated for the priesthood and Napoleon, who was but ten years old, after learning a little French was to prepare for the army in the military academy at Brienne.

Napoleon Bonaparte (b. 1769), a Corsican by birth, an Italian by descent

Here the boy led an unhappy life for five or six years. He soon came to hate the young French nobles with whom he was associated. He wrote to his father, "I am tired of exposing my poverty and seeing these shameless boys laughing over it, for they are superior to me only in wealth and infinitely beneath me in noble sentiments." Gradually the ambition to free his little island country from French control developed in him.

Bonaparte at the military school (1779–1784)

On completing his course in the military school he was made second lieutenant. Poor and without influence, he had little hope of any considerable advance in the French army, and he was drawn to his own country both by a desire to play a political rôle there and to help his family, which had been left in straitened circumstances by his father's death. He therefore absented himself from his command as often and as long as he could, and engaged in a series of intrigues in Corsica in the hope of getting control of the forces of the island. He

His political intrigues in Corsica

The Bonapartes banished from Corsica (1793)

[1] It is possible that Bonaparte was born in the previous year, when Corsica still belonged to the republic of Genoa.

fell into disfavor, however, with the authorities, and he and his family were banished in 1793, and fled to France.

How Bonaparte won the confidence of Barras and the Directory

The following three years were for Bonaparte a period of great uncertainty. He had lost his love for Corsica and as yet had found no foothold in France. Soon after his return his knowledge of artillery enabled him, as we have seen, to suggest a successful method of capturing Toulon; and two years later his friend Barras selected him to defend the Convention against its enemies on the 13th Vendémiaire. This was the beginning of his career, for Barras, who had been chosen a member of the Directory, introduced him into the gay and reckless social circle to which he belonged. Here he met and fell in love with the charming widow of poor General Beauharnais, who had lost his head just before Thermidor. Madame Beauharnais accepted the pale, nervous little republican officer in spite of his awkward manners and ill-fitting uniform. Nine years later he was able to place an imperial crown upon her brow.

Napoleon marries Josephine Beauharnais

Bonaparte made commander in chief of the army of Italy (1796)

In the spring of 1796 Bonaparte was selected by the Directory to command one of the three armies which it was sending against Austria. This important appointment at the age of twenty-seven forms the opening of an astonishing military career which can be compared only with that of Alexander the Great.

How Prussia and Austria neglected the war with France in 1794

France, as has been pointed out, found herself in 1793 at war with Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Sardinia, the Kingdom of Naples (i.e. of the Two Sicilies), and Tuscany. This formidable alliance, however, only succeeded in taking a few border fortresses which the French easily regained. Prussia and Austria were far more interested in Poland, where a third and last partition was pending, than in fighting the Revolution and keeping the French out of the Austrian Netherlands. The Polish patriot, Kosciusko, had led a revolt of the Poles against their oppressors, and the Russian garrison which Catharine had placed in Warsaw was cut down by the Polish rebels in April, 1794. Catharine then

appealed to Frederick William for assistance. He therefore turned his whole attention to Poland,[1] and Pitt had to pay him handsomely to induce him to leave sixty thousand Prussian troops to protect the Netherlands from the French invaders. But England's money was wasted, for the Prussians refused to take active measures, and even Austria, after one or two reverses, decided to evacuate the Netherlands, in the summer of 1794, in order to center all her energies upon Polish affairs and prevent Russia and Prussia from excluding her, as they had done the last time, when it came to a division of the booty.

England unable to check the French, who occupy Holland and the Rhine region

England was naturally disgusted. She had joined the war in order to aid Austria and Prussia to maintain the balance of power and defend the Netherlands, which formed a protective barrier between Holland and France. Lord Malmesbury, one of the English diplomats, declared that in his dealings with the allies he encountered only "shabby art and cunning, ill will, jealousy and every sort of dirty passion." By October, 1794, the Austrians had disappeared beyond the Rhine; the English were forced to give up Holland and to retreat forlornly into Hanover before the French under General Pichegru, who captured the Dutch fleet imprisoned in the ice near Texel. The Dutch towns contained some enthusiastic republicans who received the French cordially. The office of hereditary stadholder, which was really that of a king except in name, was abolished, and the United Netherlands became the Batavian Republic under French control.

The French republic concludes the Treaties of Basel with Prussia and Spain (April and July, 1795)

Instead of being crushed by the overwhelming forces of the allies, the armies of the French republic had, in the three years since the opening of the war, conquered the Spanish Netherlands, Savoy, and Nice; they had metamorphosed Holland into a friendly sister republic, and had occupied western Germany as far as the Rhine. The Convention was now ready to conclude its first treaties of peace. Prussia signed the Treaty of Basel with the new republic (April, 1795), in which she secretly

[1] See above, pp. 69–70.

agreed not to oppose the permanent acquisition by France of the left bank of the Rhine provided Prussia were indemnified for the territory which she would in that case lose. Three months later Spain also made peace with France. Early in 1796 the Directory decided, in accordance with General Bonaparte's advice, to undertake a triple movement upon Vienna, the capital of its chief remaining enemy. Jourdan was to take a northerly route along the river Main; Moreau was to lead an army through the Black Forest and down the Danube, while Bonaparte invaded Lombardy, which was, since the French had occupied the Netherlands, the nearest of the Austrian possessions.

Divisions of Italy

Italy was still in the same condition in which it had been left some fifty years before at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, when the Austrian Hapsburgs and the Spanish Bourbons had come to a final agreement as to what each was to have for the younger members of the two families.[1] In the kingdom of Naples[2] the feeble Ferdinand IV[3] reigned with Caroline his wife, the sister of Marie Antoinette. To the north, stretching across the peninsula, lay the Papal States. Tuscany enjoyed the mild and enlightened rule of the successors of Joseph of Lorraine. Parma's duke was related to the Spanish house and Modena's to the Austrian, but the only part of Italy actually under foreign rule was Lombardy and its capital, Milan, which had fallen to Austria after the War of the Spanish Succession. The once flourishing republics of Venice and Genoa still existed, but had long since ceased to play a rôle in European affairs. The only vigorous and promising state in Italy that was not more or less under the influence of either Austria or Spain was the kingdom of Sardinia, composed of Piedmont, Savoy, Nice, and the island of Sardinia.

[1] See *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 45–46.

[2] We shall use this name hereafter instead of the more cumbersome title, Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

[3] The successor of Don Carlos, who had become Charles III, king of Spain, in 1759.

General Bonaparte had to face the combined forces of Austria and Sardinia, which had joined the enemies of France in 1793. By marching north from Savona he skillfully separated his two enemies. He forced the Sardinian troops back toward Turin and compelled the king to conclude a treaty by which Savoy and Nice were ceded to France. Bonaparte was now free to advance into Lombardy. He marched down the Po, and the Austrians, fearing that he might cut them off, hastened eastward, leaving Milan to be occupied by the French. Here Bonaparte made a triumphal entry on May 15, 1796, scarcely more than a month after the campaign opened.

Bonaparte forces Sardinia to conclude peace and enters Milan (May, 1796)

As he descended the mountains into the plains of Lombardy, Bonaparte had announced that the French army came to break the chains of the tyrants, for the French people was the friend of all peoples. Nevertheless the Directory expected him to force those that he "freed" to support the French armies. Their directions to Bonaparte were sufficiently explicit: "Leave nothing in Italy which will be useful to us and which the political situation will permit you to remove." Accordingly Milan was not only required to pay its deliverers twenty million francs but also to give up some of the finest old masterpieces in its churches and galleries. The dukes of Parma and Modena made similar "contributions" on condition that Bonaparte would grant them an armistice.

The French begin to plunder Italy

Bonaparte soon moved east and defeated the Austrian army, a part of which took refuge in the impregnable fortress of Mantua to which the French promptly laid siege. There is no more fascinating chapter in the history of warfare than the story of the audacious maneuvers by which Bonaparte successfully repulsed the Austrian armies sent to relieve Mantua. Toward the end of July an Austrian army nearly twice the size of Bonaparte's descended in three divisions from Tyrol. The situation of the French was critical, but Bonaparte managed to defeat each of the three divisions before they had an opportunity to join forces. In five days the Austrians retired, leaving

The campaign about Mantua (May, 1796–February, 1797)

fifteen thousand prisoners in the hands of the French. Bonaparte now determined to advance up the river Adige into Germany. He again routed the Austrians and took possession of Trent. Wurmser, the Austrian commander, tried to cut him

Central Europe to illustrate Napoleon's Campaigns, 1796–1801

off from Italy but was himself shut up in Mantua with the remains of his army.

Bonaparte defeats the Austrians at Arcole (November 15–17, 1796) and at Rivoli (January 14–15, 1797)

In November two more armies were sent down to relieve Mantua, one approaching by the Adige and the other descending the Piave. Bonaparte met and defeated the Piave army in a three days' battle at Arcole, after which the other Austrian division retreated. The last effort to relieve the fortress was

frustrated by Bonaparte at Rivoli (January 14–15, 1797) and resulted in the surrender of Mantua, which gave the French complete control of northern Italy.

Fall of Mantua

All danger of an attack in the rear was now removed, and the victorious French general could lead his army through the mountains to Vienna. He forced back the Austrians, who attempted to block the road, and when, on April 7, he was within eighty miles of the capital, the Austrian commander requested a truce, which Bonaparte was not unwilling to grant, since he was now far from home, and both the other armies which the Directory had sent out, under Moreau and Jourdan, had been routed and forced back over the Rhine. A preliminary peace was accordingly arranged, which was followed by the definitive Treaty of Campo Formio (October, 1797).

Truce at Leoben (April, 1797)

The provisions of the Treaty of Campo Formio illustrate the unscrupulous manner in which Bonaparte and Austria disposed of the helpless lesser states. It inaugurated the bewilderingly rapid territorial redistribution of Europe which was so characteristic of the Napoleonic period. Austria ceded to France the Austrian Netherlands and secretly agreed to use its good offices to secure for France a great part of the left bank of the Rhine. Austria also recognized the Cisalpine Republic, which Bonaparte had created out of the smaller states of northern Italy, and which was under the "protection" of France. This new state included Lombardy, which Bonaparte had conquered, the duchy of Modena, some of the papal dominions, and, lastly, a part of the possessions of the venerable and renowned but now defenseless republic of Venice, which Napoleon had ruthlessly destroyed. Austria received as an indemnity for the Netherlands and Lombardy the rest of the possessions of the Venetian republic, including Venice itself.

Provisions of the Treaty of Campo Formio (October, 1797)

Creation of the Cisalpine Republic

While the negotiations were going on, the young general had established a brilliant court at a villa near Milan. "His salons," an observer informs us, "were filled with a throng of generals, officials, and purveyors, as well as the highest nobility and the

General Bonaparte establishes a court

most distinguished men of Italy, who came to solicit the favor of a glance or a moment's conversation." It would appear, from the report of a most extraordinary conversation which occurred at this time, that he had already conceived the rôle that he was to play later.

Bonaparte's analysis of the French character and of his own aims

"What I have done so far," he declared, "is nothing. I am but at the opening of the career that I am to run. Do you suppose that I have gained my victories in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of the Directory, — the Carnots and the Barras'? Do you think either that my object is to establish a republic? What a notion! . . . What the French want is Glory and the satisfaction of their vanity; as for Liberty, of that they have no conception. Look at the army! The victories that we have just gained have given the French soldier his true character. I am everything to him. Let the Directory attempt to deprive me of my command and they will see who is the master. The nation must have a head, a head who is rendered illustrious by glory and not by theories of government, fine phrases, or the talk of idealists, of which the French understand not a whit."

There is no doubt whom General Bonaparte had in mind when he spoke of the needed head of the French nation who should be "rendered illustrious by glory." This son of a poor Corsican lawyer, but yesterday a mere unlucky adventurer, had arranged his program; two years and a half later he was the master of the French republic.

Personal characteristics

We naturally ask what manner of person this was who could frame such audacious schemes at twenty-eight and realize them at thirty years of age. He was a little man, less than five feet two inches in height. At this time he was extremely thin, but his striking features, quick, searching eye, abrupt, animated gestures, and rapid speech, incorrect as it was, made a deep impression upon those who came in contact with him. He possessed in a supreme degree two qualities that are ordinarily considered incompatible. He was a dreamer and, at the same

time, a man whose practical skill and mastery of detail amounted to genius. He once told a friend that he was wont, when a poor lieutenant, to allow his imagination full play and fancy things just as he would have them. Then he would coolly consider the exact steps to be taken if he were to try to make his dream come true.

Sources of power in Napoleon's character

In order to explain Bonaparte's success it must be remembered that he was not hampered or held back by the fear of doing wrong. He was utterly unscrupulous, whether dealing with an individual or a nation, and appears to have been absolutely without any sense of moral responsibility. Neither did affection for his friends and relatives ever stand in the way of his personal aggrandizement. To these traits must be added unrivaled military genius and the power of intense and almost uninterrupted work.

The political conditions which rendered Napoleon's wonderful successes possible

But even Bonaparte, unexampled as were his abilities, could never have extended his power over all of western Europe, had it not been for the peculiar political weakness of most of the states with which he had to deal. There was no strong German Empire in his day, no united Italy, no Belgium whose neutrality was guaranteed — as it now is — by the other powers of Europe. The French republic was surrounded by petty, independent, or practically independent, principalities, which were defenseless against an unscrupulous invader. Prussia, much smaller than it now is, offered, as we shall see, no efficient opposition to the extension of French control, while Austria had been forced to capitulate, after a short campaign, by an enemy far from its source of supplies and led by a young and inexperienced general.

How Bonaparte made Himself Master of France

25. After arranging the Peace of Campo Formio, General Bonaparte returned to Paris. He at once perceived that

Bonaparte conceives the plan of an expedition to Egypt

France, in spite of her enthusiasm over his victories, was not yet ready to accept him as her ruler. The pear was not yet ripe, as he observed. He saw, too, that he would soon sacrifice his prestige if he lived quietly in Paris like an ordinary person. His active mind promptly conceived a plan which would forward his interests. France was still at war with England, its most persevering enemy during this period. Bonaparte convinced the Directory that England could best be ruined in the long run by occupying Egypt and so threatening her commerce in the Mediterranean, and perhaps ultimately her dominion in the East. Fascinated by the career of Alexander the Great, Bonaparte pictured himself riding to India on the back of an elephant and dispossessing England of her most precious colonial dependencies. He had, however, still another and a characteristic reason for undertaking the expedition. France was on the eve of a new war with the European powers. Bonaparte foresaw that, if he could withdraw with him some of France's best officers, the Directory might soon find itself so embarrassed that he could return as a national savior. And even so it fell out.

Accordingly General Bonaparte, under authority of the Directory, collected forty thousand of the best troops and fitted out a strong fleet, which should serve to give France the control of the Mediterranean. He did not forget to add to the expedition a hundred and twenty scientists and engineers, who were to study the country and prepare the way for French colonists to be sent out later.[1]

The campaign in Egypt (1798–1799)

The French fleet left Toulon, May 19, 1798. It was so fortunate as to escape the English squadron under Nelson, which sailed by it in the night. Bonaparte arrived at Alexandria, July 1, and easily defeated the Turkish troops in the famous

[1] One of the most noteworthy scientific results of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt was the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, which the soldiers dug up at the mouth of the Nile. This has inscribed upon it a passage in Egyptian hieroglyphics accompanied by a Greek translation which furnished the modern world with the key to ancient hieroglyphic inscriptions. The stone is now in the British Museum.

battle of the Pyramids. Meanwhile Nelson, who did not know the destination of the enemy's fleet, had returned from the Syrian coast, where he had looked for the French in vain. He discovered Bonaparte's ships in the harbor of Alexandria and completely annihilated them in the first battle of the Nile

Nelson destroys the French fleet

Egyptian Campaign

(August 1, 1798). The French troops were now completely cut off from Europe.

The Porte (i.e. the Turkish government) having declared war against France, Bonaparte resolved to attack Turkey by land. He accordingly marched into Syria in the spring of 1799, but was repulsed at Acre, where the Turkish forces were aided by the English fleet. Pursued by pestilence, the army regained Cairo in June, after terrible suffering and loss. It was still strong enough to annihilate a Turkish army that landed at Alexandria; but news now reached Bonaparte from Europe

Syrian campaign

Bonaparte deserts the army in Egypt and returns to Paris

which convinced him that the time had come for him to hasten back. The powers had formed a new coalition against France. Northern Italy, which he had won, was lost; the allies were about to invade France itself, and the Directory was hopelessly demoralized. Bonaparte accordingly secretly deserted his army and managed, by a series of happy accidents, to reach France by October 9, 1799.

The *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, November 9, 1799

The Directory, one of the most corrupt and inefficient governmental bodies that the world has ever seen, had completely disgraced itself and Bonaparte readily found others to join with him in a conspiracy to overthrow it. A plan was formed for abruptly destroying the old government and replacing it by a new one without observing any constitutional forms. This is a procedure so familiar in France during the past century that it is known even in English as a *coup d'état* (literally translated, a "stroke of state"). The conspirators had a good many friends in the two assemblies, especially among the "Elders." Nevertheless Bonaparte had to order his soldiers to invade the hall in which the Assembly of the Five Hundred was in session and scatter his opponents before he could accomplish his purpose. A chosen few were then reassembled under the presidency of Lucien Bonaparte, one of Napoleon's brothers, who was a member of the Assembly. They voted to put the government in the hands of three men, — General Bonaparte and two others, — to be called "Consuls." These were to proceed, with the aid of a commission and of the Elders, to draw up a new constitution.

Bonaparte made First Consul

The constitution of the Year VIII

The new constitution was a very cumbrous and elaborate one. It provided for no less than four assemblies, one to propose the laws, one to consider them, one to vote upon them, and one to decide on their constitutionality. But Bonaparte saw to it that as First Consul he himself had practically all the power in his own hands. The Council of State, to which he called talented men from all parties and over which he presided, was the most important of the governmental bodies.

The Council of State

Bonaparte's chief aim was to *centralize* the government. Nothing was left to local assemblies, for he proposed to control everything from Paris. Accordingly, in each department he put an officer called a *prefect;* in each subdivision of the department a *subprefect.* These, together with the mayors and police commissioners of the towns, were all appointed by the First Consul. The prefects — "little First Consuls," as Bonaparte called them — resembled the former intendants, the king's officers under the old régime. Indeed, the new government suggested in several important respects that of Louis XIV. This administrative system which Bonaparte perfected has endured, with a few changes, down to the present day. It has rendered the French government very stable in spite of the startling changes in the constitution which have occurred. There is no surer proof of Napoleon's genius than that, with no previous experience, he could conceive a plan of government that should serve a great state like France through all its vicissitudes for a century.

The centralized administrative system established by Bonaparte

The new ruler objected as decidedly as Louis XIV had done to the idea of being controlled by the people, who, he believed, knew nothing of public affairs. It was enough, he thought, if they were allowed to say whether they wished a certain form of government or not. He therefore introduced what he called a *plebiscite.*[1] The new constitution when completed was submitted to the nation at large, and all were allowed to vote "yes" or "no" on the expediency of its adoption. Over three million voted in favor of it and only fifteen hundred and sixty-two against it. This did not necessarily mean, however, that practically the whole nation wished to have General Bonaparte as its ruler. A great many may have preferred what seemed to them an objectionable form of government to the risk of rejecting it. Herein lies the injustice of the plebiscite; there are many questions that cannot be answered by a simple "yes" or "no."

The new government accepted by a plebiscite

[1] The *plebiscitum* of the Romans, from which the French derived their term *plébiscite,* was originally a law voted in the Assembly of the *plebs,* or people.

Bonaparte generally acceptable to France as First Consul

Yet the accession to power of the popular young general was undoubtedly grateful to the majority of citizens, who longed above all for a stable government. The Swedish envoy wrote, just after the *coup d'état:* "A legitimate monarch has perhaps never found a people more ready to do his bidding than Bonaparte, and it would be inexcusable if this talented general did not take advantage of this to introduce a better form of government upon a firmer basis. It is literally true that France will perform impossibilities in order to aid him in this. The people (with the exception of a despicable horde of anarchists) are so sick and weary of revolutionary horrors and folly that they believe that any change cannot fail to be for the better. . . . Even the royalists, whatever their views may be, are sincerely devoted to Bonaparte, for they attribute to him the intention of gradually restoring the old order of things. The indifferent element cling to him as the one most likely to give France peace. The enlightened republicans, although they tremble for their form of government, prefer to see a single man of talent possess himself of the power than a club of intriguers."

The Second Coalition against France

The Directory strikes at English commerce

26. Upon becoming First Consul, General Bonaparte found France at war with England, Russia, Austria, Turkey, and Naples, — a somewhat strange coalition which must be explained. After the treaties of Basel and Campo Formio, England had been left to fight the Revolution single-handed. The Directory issued a decree excluding her products from all lands under French control, especially cotton and woolen goods, hardware, pottery, and refined sugar, which were not to be imported on pain of confiscation. Although this was exactly the kind of law that England had been trying to enforce in her own interest for a century or so,[1] the English merchants were

[1] See above, pp. 80–81.

exasperated at the unprincipled French, and Pitt was encouraged to continue the struggle.

Russia enters the war as England's ally

He found an unexpected ally in the Tsar Paul.[1] Like his mother, Catharine II, whom he succeeded in 1796, he hated the Revolution; but, unlike her, he consented to send troops to fight against France, for which Pitt agreed (December, 1798) to help pay. Austria was willing to take up the war again since she saw no prospect of getting all the territory that Bonaparte had half promised her in the Treaty of Campo Formio. As for the Sultan, Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition brought the French to his very doors and led him to join his ancient enemy, Russia, in a common cause.

The Sultan

France republicanizes her neighbors

It certainly appeared to be high time to check the restless new republic which was busily engaged in spreading "liberty" in her own interest. Holland had first been *republicanized;* then Bonaparte had established the Cisalpine Republic in northern Italy; and the French had stirred up a revolution in Genoa, which led to the abolition of the old aristocratic government and the founding of a new Ligurian Republic which was to be the friend and ally of France.

The Roman Republic proclaimed (February, 1798)

Next, with the encouragement of Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, who was the French ambassador in Rome, the few republicans in the Pope's capital proclaimed a republic. In the disturbance which ensued a French general was killed, a fact which gave the Directory an excuse for declaring war and occupying Rome. On February 15, 1798, the republicans assembled in the ancient forum and declared that the Roman Republic was once more restored. The brutal French commissioner insulted the Pope, snatched his staff and ring from his hand, and ordered him out of town. The French

[1] Paul was an ill-balanced person whose chief grievance against the French was that Bonaparte had captured the island of Malta on the way to Egypt. Malta had for centuries been held by the Order of the Knights of Malta, which had originated during the Crusades. Now the knights had chosen Paul as their "Protector," an honor which enchanted his simple soul and led him to dream of annexing Malta to his empire. Bonaparte's seizure of the island interfered with his plans and served to rouse a desire for vengeance.

seized the pictures and statues in the Vatican and sent them to Paris and managed to rob the new republic of some sixty million francs besides.

The Directory revolutionizes and plunders Switzerland (1798)

More scandalous still was the conduct of the Directory and its commissioners in dealing with Switzerland. In that little country, certain of the *cantons*, or provinces, had long been subject to others which possessed superior rights. A few persons in the canton of Vaud were readily induced by the French agitators to petition the Directory to free their canton from the overlordship of Berne. In January, 1798, a French army entered Switzerland and easily overpowered the troops of Berne and occupied the city (in March), where they seized the treasure — some four millions of dollars — which had been gradually brought together through a long period by the thrifty government of the confederation. A new Helvetic Republic, "one and indivisible," was proclaimed, in which all the cantons should be equal and all the old feudal customs and inequalities should be abolished. The mountaineers of the conservative cantons about the lake of Lucerne rose in vain against the intruders, who mercilessly massacred those who dared to oppose the changes which their "deliverers" chose to introduce. The money and supplies which the French appropriated were sent to Toulon to be used in the Egyptian expedition.

The Helvetic Republic

Naples reopens the war against France (November, 1798)

The new outbreak of war against France was due to Naples, where Marie Antoinette's sister, Caroline, watched with horror the occupation of Rome by the French troops. Nelson, after destroying Bonaparte's fleet in the battle of the Nile, had returned to Naples and there arranged a plan for driving the French from the Papal States. But everything went badly; the French easily defeated the Bourbon armies and the members of the royal family of Naples were glad to embark on the British ships and make their way to Palermo. Thereupon the French republicanized Naples, seized millions of francs as usual, and carried off to Paris the best works of art.

Naples turned into the Parthenopean Republic (January, 1799)

Piedmont occupied by the French

At the same time Piedmont was occupied by the French, and the king was forced to abdicate. He retired to Sardinia, where he remained until Napoleon's downfall fifteen years later.

France reaches its "natural boundaries" in 1799

Early in the year 1799 the French republic seemed everywhere victorious. It had at last reached its "natural boundaries" by adding to the Austrian Netherlands those portions of the Holy Roman Empire which lay on the left bank[1] of the Rhine, and, to the south, the duchy of Savoy. It had reorganized its neighbors, the Batavian Republic, the Helvetic Republic, the Ligurian Republic, the Cisalpine Republic, the Roman Republic, and the Parthenopean Republic, — all of which were to accept its counsel and aid it with money, troops, and supplies. Bonaparte had occupied Egypt and was on his way to Syria with gorgeous visions of subjugating the whole Orient.

Suvaroff and the Austrians force the French out of Italy (April–August, 1799)

Within a few months, however, the situation was completely changed. The Austrians defeated Jourdan at Stockach in southern Germany, and the French retreated to the Rhine. In Italy the brave Russian general, Suvaroff, with the small but valiant army which the Tsar had sent to the west, forced the French out of northern Italy and, with the aid of the Austrians, repeatedly defeated their armies and shut up the remains of their forces in Genoa, to which the Austrians laid siege. Suvaroff, after expelling the French from Piedmont, burned to push on into France. But the Austrian minister, Thugut, opposed the restoration of the king of Sardinia to his throne, and urged that Austria should be permitted to annex Piedmont since she alone would be powerful enough to keep the French out of Italy. Thereupon, utterly disgusted with his Austrian ally, Suvaroff turned northward through the Swiss mountains, across which he forced his way in spite of incredible difficulties, only to find that a second Russian army, which he had expected would join him, had been defeated by the French. Thereupon the Tsar, attributing the reverses of his armies to the

Russia withdraws from the war (October, 1799)

[1] That is to say, the bank which would lie to the left of one traveling down the river, in this case the west bank.

intrigues of the land-greedy Austria, broke off all relations with her and recalled his generals (October, 1799).[1]

The First Consul writes to George III and Francis II in the interests of peace

In November, 1799, the corrupt and inefficient Directory was, as we have seen, thrust aside by a victorious general to whom France now looked for peace and order. The First Consul sought to make a happy impression upon France by writing personal letters on Christmas Day to both George III and Emperor Francis II, in which he deplored a continuation of war among the most enlightened nations of Europe. Why should they "sacrifice to ideas of empty greatness the blessings of commerce, internal prosperity, and domestic happiness? Should they not recognize that peace was at once their first need and their chief glory?"

His advances not well received

The English returned a gruff reply in which Pitt declared that France had been entirely at fault and had precipitated war by her aggressions in Holland, Switzerland, and Egypt. England must continue the struggle until France offered pledges of peace, and the best security would be the recall of the Bourbon dynasty.[2] The Austrians also refused, though somewhat more graciously, to come to terms, and Bonaparte began secretly collecting troops which he could direct against the Austrian army that was besieging the French in Genoa.

Bonaparte crosses the St. Bernard Pass (May, 1800)

Bonaparte now proceeded to devise one of the boldest and most brilliant of campaigns. Instead of following one of the usual roads into Italy, either along the coast to Genoa or across the Alps of Savoy, he resolved to take the enemy in the rear. In order to do this he concentrated his forces in Switzerland and, emulating Hannibal, he led them over the difficult Alpine pass of the Great St. Bernard. There was no carriage road then as there is now, and the cannons had to be dragged over

[1] Naturally the republics which had been formed in Italy under French influence collapsed. Ferdinand returned to Naples and instituted a royalist reign of terror in which Nelson took part. His conduct met with hearty disapproval in England.

[2] This suggestion irritated the French and convinced them that England was their implacable enemy.

in trunks of trees which had been hollowed out for the purpose. Bonaparte arrived safely in Milan on June 2, 1800, to the utter astonishment of the Austrians, who had received no definite news of his line of approach. He immediately restored the Cisalpine Republic, wrote to Paris that he had delivered the Lombards from the "Austrian rod," and then moved westward to find and crush the enemy.

The battle of Marengo (June 14, 1800)

In his uncertainty as to the exact whereabouts of the Austrians, Bonaparte divided his forces when near the village of Marengo (June 14) and sent a contingent under Desaix southward to head off the enemy in that direction. In the meantime the whole Austrian army approached from Alessandria and the engagement began. The Austrians at first repulsed the French, and Bonaparte saw all his great plans in jeopardy as he vainly besought his soldiers to make another stand. The defeat was soon turned, however, into one of his most brilliant victories, for Desaix had heard the firing and returned with his division. Meanwhile the aged and infirm Austrian commander had returned to Alessandria, supposing that the battle was won. The result was that the French troops, reënforced, returned to the attack and carried all before them. The brave Desaix, who had really saved the day, was killed; Bonaparte simply said nothing of his own temporary defeat, and added one more to the list of his great military triumphs. A truce was signed next day, and the Austrians retreated behind the Mincio River, leaving Bonaparte to restore French influence in Lombardy. The districts that he had "freed" were obliged to support his army, and the reëstablished Cisalpine Republic was forced to pay a monthly tax of two million francs.

Moreau defeats the Austrian army in the forest of Hohenlinden (December, 1800)

While Bonaparte had been making his last preparations to cross the St. Bernard, a French army under Moreau, a very able commander, had invaded southern Germany and prevented the Austrian forces there from taking the road to Italy. Some months later, in the early winter, when the truce concluded after Marengo had expired, he was ordered to march on Vienna.

On December 3 he met the Austrian army in the snowy roads of the forest of Hohenlinden and overwhelmingly defeated it. This brought Austria to terms and she agreed to a treaty of peace at Lunéville, February, 1801.

Provisions of the Treaty of Lunéville (February, 1801)

In this, the arrangements made at Campo Formio were in general reaffirmed. France was to retain possession of the Austrian Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine. The Batavian, Helvetic, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics were to be recognized and included in the peace. Austria was to keep Venice.[1]

General peace of 1801

Austria's retirement from the war was the signal for a general peace. Even England, who had not laid down her arms since hostilities first opened in 1793, saw no advantage in continuing a struggle in which the continental powers refused longer to participate. After defeating the French army which Bonaparte had left in Egypt, she suspended hostilities and opened negotiations with France in the autumn of 1801, although the definite peace was not signed until the following March, at Amiens.

Two most important results of the treaties of 1801

Among many merely transitory results of these treaties, there were two provisions of momentous import. The first of these, Spain's cession of Louisiana to France in exchange for certain advantages in Italy, does not concern us here directly. But

(*a*) Bonaparte sells Louisiana to the United States (1803)

when war again broke out Bonaparte sold the district to the United States, and among the many transfers of territory that he made during his reign, none was more important than this. We must, however, treat with some detail the second of the great changes, which led to the complete reorganization of Germany and ultimately rendered possible the establishment of the present powerful German Empire.

(*b*) Effects of the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France

In the Treaty of Lunéville, the Emperor had agreed on his own part, as the ruler of Austria, and on the part of the Holy Roman Empire, that the French republic should thereafter possess in full sovereignty the territories of the Empire which lay on the left bank of the Rhine, and that thereafter the Rhine

[1] The text of this treaty may be found in the *Readings*, sect. 42.

should form the boundary of France from the point where it left the Helvetic Republic to the point where it entered the Batavian Republic. As an inevitable consequence of this cession, numerous rulers and towns — nearly a hundred in number — found themselves dispossessed wholly or in part of their lands. The territories involved included the Palatinate and the duchy of Jülich (both of which then belonged to Bavaria), the possessions of the archbishops of Treves and Cologne and of the bishop of Liége, the ancient free cities of Worms, Speyer, and Cologne, Prussia's duchy of Cleves, besides the tiny realms of dozens of counts and abbots.

Only the hereditary princes to be indemnified

The Empire bound itself by the treaty to furnish the *hereditary* princes who had been forced to give up their territories to France "an indemnity within the Empire." Those who did not belong to the class of hereditary rulers were of course the bishops and abbots and the free cities. The ecclesiastical princes were forbidden as clergymen to marry, and consequently could have no lawful heirs. Hence if they were deprived of their realms they might be adequately indemnified by a pension for life, with no fear of injustice to their heirs, since they could have none. As for the towns, once so prosperous and important, they now seemed scarcely worth considering to the more powerful rulers of Germany. Indeed it seemed absurd at the opening of the nineteenth century that a single town should be permitted to constitute an independent state with its own system of coinage and its particular customs lines.

The ecclesiastical states and the free towns to be used to indemnify the hereditary rulers

There was, however, no unoccupied land within the Empire with which to indemnify even the hereditary princes, like the elector of Bavaria, the margrave of Baden, the king of Prussia, or the Emperor himself, who had seen their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine divided up into French departments. It was understood by France, and by the princes concerned, that the ecclesiastical rulers and the free towns should pay the costs of this cession by sacrificing their territories on the right bank as well as on the left. The *secularization* of

the church lands, — as the process of transferring them to lay rulers was called, — and the annexation of the free towns implied a veritable revolution in the old Holy Roman Empire, for the possessions of the ecclesiastical princes were vast in extent and were widely scattered, thus contributing largely to the disunion of Germany.

The work of the imperial commission in reconstructing Germany

A commission of German princes was appointed to undertake the reconstruction of the map; and the final distribution was preceded by an undignified scramble among the hereditary rulers for bits of territory. All turned to Paris for favors, since it was really the First Consul and his minister, Talleyrand, who determined the distribution. Needy princelings are said to have caressed Talleyrand's poodle and played "drop the handkerchief" with his niece in the hope of adding a monastery or a shabby village to their share. At last the Imperial Commission, with France's help, finished its intricate task and the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*, as the outcome of their labors was officially called, was ratified by the diet in 1803.

Destruction of the ecclesiastical states and free towns

All the ecclesiastical states except Mayence were turned over to lay rulers, while of the forty-eight imperial cities only six were left. Three of these — Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck — still exist as members of the new German Empire. No map could make clear all the shiftings of territory which the Imperial Commission sanctioned. A few examples will serve to illustrate the complexity of their procedure and the strange microscopic divisions of the Empire.[1]

Examples of indemnification

Prussia received in return for Cleves and other small territories the bishopric of Hildesheim and Paderborn, a part of the bishopric of Münster and of the lands of the elector of Mayence, the territories of the abbots, or abbesses, of Herford, Quedlinburg, Elten, Essen, Werden, and Kappenberg, and the free towns of Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, and Goslar, — over

[1] It has not been deemed feasible to give a map here to illustrate the innumerable changes effected by the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*. See map in Droysen, *Historischer Handatlas*, and the extraordinary maps at the end of Putzger's *Historischer Schul-Atlas*.

four times the area that she had lost. The elector of Bavaria, for more considerable sacrifices on the left bank, was rewarded with the bishoprics of Würzburg, Bamberg, Freising, Augsburg, and Passau, besides the lands of twelve abbots and of seventeen free towns; which materially extended his boundaries. Austria got the bishoprics of Brixen and Trent; the duke of Würtemberg and the margrave of Baden also rounded out and consolidated their dominions. A host of princes and counts received their little allotments of land or were assigned an income of a few thousand gulden to solace their woes,[1] but the more important rulers carried off the lion's share of the spoils. Bonaparte wished to add Parma as well as Piedmont to France, so the duke of Parma was given Tuscany, and the grand duke of Tuscany was indemnified with the archbishopric of Salzburg.[2]

Over two hundred independent states extinguished

These bewildering details are only given here to make clear the hopelessly minute subdivision of the old Holy Roman Empire and the importance of the partial amalgamation which took place in 1803. One hundred and twelve sovereign and independent states lying to the east of the Rhine were wiped out by being annexed to larger states, such as Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse, etc., while nearly a hundred more had disappeared when the left bank of the Rhine was converted into departments by the French.

Bonaparte's purpose to gain allies in southern Germany

Although Germany never sank to a lower degree of national degradation than at this period, this consolidation was nevertheless the beginning of her political regeneration. Bonaparte, it is true, hoped to weaken rather than to strengthen the Empire, for by increasing the territory and power of the

[1] For example, the prince of Bretzenheim, for the loss of the villages of Bretzenheim and Winzenheim, was given a "princely" nunnery on the lake of Constance; the poor princess of Isenburg, countess of Parkstein, who lost a part of the tiny Reipoltskirchen, received an annuity of twenty-three thousand gulden and a share in the tolls paid by boats on the Rhine, and so on.

[2] As for the knights, who were the least among the German rulers, those who had lost their few acres on the left bank were not indemnified, and those on the right bank were quietly deprived of their political rights within the next two or three years by the princes within whose territories they happened to lie.

southern states — Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hesse, and Baden — he expected to gain the permanent friendship of their rulers and so create a "third Germany" which he could play off against Austria and Prussia. He succeeded for a time in this design, but the consolidation of 1803 paved the way, as we shall see, for the creation sixty-seven years later of the present German Empire.

REFERENCES

Youth of Bonaparte: FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, chaps. i and ii, pp. 1–37; JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, chap. i, pp. 1–13; ROSE, *The Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. I, chap. i, pp. 1–21.

The Beginning of Bonaparte's Military Career: JOHNSTON, chap. ii, pp. 14–26; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. xviii, pp. 560 *sqq.*; ROSE, Vol. I, chaps. ii and iii, pp. 22–69.

The First Italian Campaign: FOURNIER, chap. v, pp. 72–110; FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, chap. iii, pp. 74–103; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. xviii, pp. 553–593; JOHNSTON, pp. 27–44; ROSE, Vol. I, chaps. iv–vii, pp. 70–158.

The Egyptian Expedition: FOURNIER, chap. vi, pp. 111–153; JOHNSTON, pp. 44–58; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. xix, pp. 594–619; ROSE, Vol. I, chaps. viii and ix, pp. 159–197.

Overthrow of the Directory and Establishment of the Consulate: FOURNIER, chap. vii, pp. 154–187; FYFFE, chap. iv, pp. 104–144; JOHNSTON, pp. 59–78; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. i, pp. 1–33; ROSE, Vol. I, chap. x, pp. 198–220.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE AND NAPOLEON

Bonaparte restores Order and Prosperity in France

27. Bonaparte was by no means merely a military genius; he was a distinguished statesman as well. He found France in a sad plight after ten years of rapid and radical change, incompetent government, and general disorder. The turmoil of the Reign of Terror had been followed by the mismanagement and corruption of the Directory. There had been no opportunity to perfect the elaborate and thoroughgoing reforms introduced by the first National Assembly, and the work of the Revolution remained but half done. Bonaparte's officials reported to him that the highways were infested with murderous bands of robbers, that the roads and bridges were dilapidated and the harbors filled with sand. The manufacturers and business men were discouraged and industry was demoralized.

General disorder in France under the Directory

The financial situation was intolerable. The disorder had reached such a pitch that scarcely any taxes were paid in the year 1800. The *assignats* had so depreciated in March, 1796, that three hundred francs in paper were required to procure one in gold. Thereupon the Directory had withdrawn them at one thirtieth of their value and substituted another kind of paper money which rapidly declined in value in the same way that the *assignats* had done. The hard-beset government had issued all sorts of government securities which were at a hopeless discount, and had repudiated a considerable part of the public debt.

The paper money

The First Consul and his able ministers began at once to devise measures to remedy the difficulties, and his officials,

Bonaparte's financial measures

scattered throughout France, saw to it that the new laws were enforced. The police was everywhere reorganized and the robbers brought to summary justice. The tax rate was fixed and the taxes regularly collected. A sinking fund was established designed gradually to extinguish the public debt; this served to raise the credit of the State. New government securities replaced the old ones, and a Bank of France was founded to stimulate business. The Directory had so grossly mismanaged the disposal of the lands of the clergy and emigrant nobles that they had brought in very little to the government. Bonaparte carefully cherished what remained unsold and made the most of it.

The Convention had separated Church and State (February, 1795), but the Directory continued to persecute the clergy

In no respect had the revolutionary governments been less successful than in dealing with the Church. We have seen how those priests who refused to swear to support the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had been persecuted. After Hébert's attempt to replace Christianity by the worship of Reason, and that of Robespierre to establish a new deistic worship of the Supreme Being, the Catholic churches began early in 1795 to be opened once more, and the Convention declared (February 21, 1795) that the government would no longer concern itself with religion; it would not in the future pay salaries to any clergyman, and every one should be free to worship in any way he pleased.[1] Thereupon both the "constitutional" and the non-juring clergy began actively to reorganize their churches. But while thousands of priests managed to perform their duties, the Convention, and later the Directory, continued

[1] This first law separating Church and State is interesting in view of the efforts which are now being made in France to effect the same result (see below, sect. 62). The Convention's decree read as follows: "No form of worship shall be interfered with. The Republic will subsidize none of them. It will furnish no buildings for religious exercises nor any dwellings for clergymen. The ceremonies of all religions are forbidden outside of the confines of the place chosen for their performance. The law recognizes no minister of religion and no one is to appear in public with costumes or ornaments used in religious ceremonies." The Convention gruffly added other limitations on religious freedom. It required, for example, that all services be conducted in a semi-private manner, with none of the old gorgeous display or public ceremonials and processions.

to persecute those who did not take a new oath to submit to the laws of the republic, and many suspected of hostility to the government were exiled or imprisoned.

Bonaparte hopes to gain the support of the Church

General Bonaparte, although himself a deist, nevertheless fully appreciated the importance of gaining the support of the Church and the Pope, and consequently, immediately upon becoming First Consul, he set to work to settle the religious difficulties. He freed the imprisoned priests upon their promising not to oppose the constitution, while those who had been exiled began to return in considerable numbers after the 18th Brumaire. Sunday, which had been abolished by the republican calendar, was once more generally observed, and all the revolutionary holidays, except July 14, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, and September 22, the first day of the republican year, were done away with.

The Concordat of 1801

A formal treaty with the Pope, known as the *Concordat*, was concluded in September, 1801, which was destined to remain in force for over a hundred years. It declared that the Roman Catholic religion was that of the great majority of the French citizens and that its rites might be freely observed; that the Pope and the French government should arrange a new division of the country into bishoprics; that the bishops should be appointed by the First Consul and confirmed by the Pope, and the priests should be chosen by the bishops. Both bishops and priests were to receive a suitable remuneration from the government, but were to be required to swear to support the Constitution of the republic. The churches which had not been sold should be put at the disposition of the bishops, but the Pope agreed never to disturb in any way those who had acquired the former property of the clergy.

Bonaparte brings the Church under the control of the State

It is to be observed that Bonaparte showed no inclination to separate Church and State, but carefully brought the Church under the control of the State by vesting the appointment of the bishops in the head of the government, — the First Consul. The Pope's confirmation was likely to be a mere form. The

bishops were to choose no priests who were not agreeable to the government, nor was any papal bull or decree to be published in France without its permission.[1]

How the Revolution had changed the Church

In some ways the arrangements of the Concordat of 1801 resembled those which prevailed under the *ancien régime*, but the Revolution had swept away the whole mediæval substructure of the Church, its lands and feudal rights, the tithes, the monks and nuns with their irrevocable vows enforced by law, the Church courts, the monopoly of religion, and the right to persecute heretics, — all of these had disappeared and General Bonaparte saw no reason for restoring any of them.

The emigrant nobles permitted to return

As for the emigrant nobles, Bonaparte decreed that no more names should be added to the lists. The striking of names from the list, and the return of confiscated lands that had not already been sold, he made favors to be granted by himself. Parents and relatives of emigrants were no longer to be regarded as incapable of holding public offices. In April, 1802, a general amnesty was issued, and no less than forty thousand families returned to France.

Old habits resumed

There was a gradual reaction from some of the innovations of the Reign of Terror. The old titles of address, Monsieur and Madame, again came into use instead of the revolutionary "Citizen." Streets which had been rebaptized with republican names resumed their former ones. Old titles of nobility were revived, and something very like a royal court began to develop at the Palace of the Tuileries; for Bonaparte, in all but his title, was already a king, and his wife, Josephine, a queen.

The grateful reliance of the nation on Bonaparte

It had been clear for some years that the nation was weary of political agitation. How great a blessing, after the anarchy of the past, to put all responsibility upon one who showed himself capable of concluding a long war with unprecedented glory for France and of reëstablishing order and the security of

[1] In the "Organic articles" which, at the instigation of the First Consul, were passed by the Legislative Body, all the old Gallican liberties were reaffirmed and all the teachers in the theological seminaries were to subscribe to, and agree to inculcate, the Declaration of 1682.

person and property, the necessary conditions for renewed prosperity! How natural that the French should welcome a despotism to which they had been accustomed for centuries, after suffering as they had under nominally republican institutions!

The *Code Napoléon*

One of the greatest and most permanent of Bonaparte's achievements still remains to be noted. The heterogeneous laws of the old régime had been much modified by the legislation of the successive assemblies. All this needed a final revision and Bonaparte appointed a commission to undertake this task. Their draft of the new code was discussed in the Council of State, and the First Consul had many suggestions to make. The resulting codification of the civil law — the *Code Napoléon* — is still used to-day, not only in France but also, with some modifications, in Rhenish Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and even in the state of Louisiana. The criminal and commercial law was also codified. These codes carried with them into foreign lands the principles of equality upon which they were based, and thus diffused the benefits of the Revolution beyond the borders of France.

General Bonaparte becomes Napoleon I, emperor of the French (1804)

Bonaparte had always shown the instincts of a despotic ruler, and France really ceased to be a republic except in name after the 18th Brumaire. The First Consul was able to bring about changes, one by one, in the constitution, which rendered his own power more and more absolute. In 1802 he was appointed Consul for life with the right to choose his successor. But this did not satisfy his insatiable ambition. He longed to be a monarch in name as well as in fact. He believed heartily in kingship and was not averse to its traditional splendor, its palaces, ermine robes, and gay courtiers. A royalist plot gave him an excuse for secretly urging that he be made emperor. France might, he argued, be replunged into civil war as long as there was any chance of overthrowing the government. The only safety for a great nation lay in hereditary power "which can alone assure a continuous political life which may endure

for generations, even for centuries."[1] The Senate was induced to ask him (May, 1804) to accept the title of Emperor of the French, which he was to hand down to his children or adopted heirs.[2]

A new royal court established in the Tuileries

December 2, 1804, General Bonaparte was crowned, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, as Napoleon I, emperor of the French. The Pope consented to grace the occasion, but the new monarch seized the golden laurel chaplet before the Pope could take it up, and placed it on his own head, since he wished the world to understand that he owed the crown not to the head of the Church but to his own sagacity and military genius. A royal court was reëstablished in the Tuileries, and Ségur, an emigrant noble, and Madame de Campan — one of Marie Antoinette's ladies-in-waiting, who had been earning an honest livelihood by conducting a girls' school — were called in to show the new courtiers how to deport themselves according to the rules of etiquette which had prevailed before the red cap of liberty had come into fashion. A new nobility was established to take the place of that abolished by the first National Assembly in 1790: Bonaparte's uncle was made Grand Almoner; Talleyrand, Lord High Chamberlain; General Duroc, High Constable; and fourteen of the most important generals were exalted to the rank of Marshals of France. The stanch republicans, who had believed that the court pageantry of the *old régime* had gone to stay, were either disgusted or amused by these proceedings, according to their temperaments. But Emperor Napoleon would brook no strictures or sarcastic comment.

Napoleon's censorship of the press

From this time on he became increasingly tyrannical and hostile to criticism. At the very beginning of his administration he had suppressed a great part of the numerous political newspapers and forbidden the establishment of new ones. As

[1] See *Readings*, sect. 42, for Napoleon's report of recent events submitted at the close of the year 1804.

[2] Josephine had borne him no children.

EMPEROR NAPOLEON I

emperor he showed himself still more exacting. His police furnished the news to the papers, and carefully omitted all that might offend their suspicious master. He ordered the journals to "put in quarantine all news that might be disadvantageous or disagreeable to France."[1] He would have liked to suppress all newspapers but one, which should be used for official purposes.

Napoleon destroys the Holy Roman Empire and reorganizes Germany

Napoleon on the necessity of war for France

28. A great majority of the French undoubtedly longed for peace, but Napoleon's position made war a personal necessity for him. No one saw this more clearly than he. "If," he said to his Council of State in the summer of 1802, "the European states intend ever to renew the war, the sooner it comes the better. Every day the remembrance of their defeats grows dimmer and at the same time the prestige of our victories pales. . . . France needs glorious deeds, and hence war. She must be the first among the states or she is lost. I shall put up with peace as long as our neighbors can maintain it, but I shall regard it as an advantage if they force me to take up my arms again before they rust. . . . In our position I shall look on each conclusion of peace as simply a short armistice, and I regard myself as destined during my term of office to fight almost without intermission."

Napoleon dreams of becoming emperor of Europe

On another occasion, in 1804, Napoleon said, "There will be no rest in Europe until it is under a single chief — an emperor who shall have kings for officers, who shall distribute kingdoms to his lieutenants, and shall make this one king of Italy, that one of Bavaria; this one ruler of Switzerland, that one governor of Holland, each having an office of honor in the imperial household." This was the ideal that he now found himself in a position to carry out with marvelous exactness.

[1] When the French fleet was annihilated by Nelson at Trafalgar in 1805, the event was not mentioned in the *Moniteur*, the official newspaper.

Reasons for England's persistent opposition to Napoleon

There were many reasons why the peace with England (concluded at Amiens in March, 1802) should be speedily broken, especially as the First Consul was not averse to a renewal of the war. The obvious intention of Napoleon to bring as much of Europe under his control as he could, and the imposition of high duties on English goods in those territories that he already controlled, filled commercial and industrial England with apprehension. The English people longed for peace, but peace appeared only to offer an opportunity to Napoleon to develop French commerce at their expense. This was the secret of England's pertinacity. All the other European powers concluded treaties with Napoleon at some time during his reign. England alone did not lay down her arms a second time until the emperor of the French was a prisoner.

War between France and England renewed in 1803. Napoleon institutes a coast blockade

War was renewed between England and France, May, 1803. Bonaparte promptly occupied Hanover, of which it will be remembered that the English king was elector, and declared the coast blockaded from Hanover to Otranto. Holland, Spain, and the Ligurian Republic — formerly the republic of Genoa — were, by hook or by crook, induced to agree to furnish each their contingent of men or money to the French army and to exclude English ships from their ports.

Napoleon threatens to invade England

To cap the climax, England was alarmed by the appearance of a French army at Boulogne, just across the Channel. A great number of flatboats were collected and troops trained to embark and disembark. Apparently Napoleon harbored the firm purpose of invading the British Isles. Yet the transportation of a large body of troops across the English Channel, trifling as is the distance, would have been very hazardous, and by many it was deemed downright impossible.[1] No one knows whether Napoleon really intended to make the trial. It is quite possible that his main purpose in collecting an army

[1] The waves and currents caused by winds and tides make the Channel very uncertain for all except steam navigation. Robert Fulton offered to put his newly invented steamboat at Napoleon's disposal, but his offer was declined.

at Boulogne was to have it in readiness for the continental war which he saw immediately ahead of him. He succeeded, at any rate, in terrifying England, who prepared to defend her coasts against the French invaders.

Alexander I joins England, April, 1805

The new Tsar, Alexander I,[1] had submitted a plan for the reconciliation of France and England in August, 1803; the rejection of this, the continued aggressions of Napoleon, and above all, his shocking execution of the duke of Enghien, a Bourbon prince whom he had arrested on the ground that he was plotting against the First Consul, roused the Tsar's indignation and led him to conclude an alliance with England, the objects of which were the expulsion of the French from Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Hanover, and the settlement of European affairs upon a sound and permanent basis by a great international congress.

Austria joins the coalition of 1805, but Prussia remains neutral

Russia and England were immediately joined by Austria, who found Napoleon intent upon developing in northern Italy a strong power which would threaten her borders. He had been crowned king of Italy in May, 1805, and had annexed the Ligurian Republic to France. There were rumors, too, that he was planning to seize the Venetian territories which had been assigned to Austria at Campo Formio. The timid king of Prussia, Frederick William III, could not be induced to join the alliance, nor would he ally himself with Napoleon, although he was offered the electorate of Hanover, a very substantial inducement. He persisted in maintaining a neutrality which was to cost him dear.

Napoleon fails to get control of the sea and turns his attention to Austria

Napoleon had been endeavoring to get the advantage of the English on the sea, for there was no possibility of ferrying his armies across to England so long as English men-of-war were blockading the French squadrons and guarding the Channel. His efforts to free the French ships and concentrate them in the Channel proved vain, for Lord Cornwallis continued to

[1] Alexander had succeeded his father, Paul, when the latter was assassinated in a palace plot, March, 1801.

blockade one fleet in Brest while the other was forced to take refuge in the harbor of Cadiz where Lord Nelson watched it. These circumstances and the approach of the Austrian army through southern Germany led Napoleon to give up all thought of invading England and to turn his whole attention toward the east.

Napoleon captures Mack's army at Ulm (October 20, 1805) and then occupies Vienna

He misled Austria by massing troops about Strassburg and pretending that he was going to march through the Black Forest. Consequently, the Austrian general, Mack, concentrated his forces about Ulm in order to be ready for the French when they should appear. Napoleon was, however, really taking his armies around to the north through Mayence and Coblenz, so that he occupied Munich, October 14, and cut off the Austrians from Vienna in somewhat the same way that he had done when he crossed the St. Bernard Pass in 1800. He then moved westward, and six days later General Mack, finding himself surrounded and shut up in Ulm, was forced to capitulate, and Napoleon made prisoners of a whole Austrian army, sixty thousand strong, without losing more than a few hundred of his own men. The French could now safely march down the Danube to Vienna, which they reached, October 31.

Battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805)

Emperor Francis II had retired before the approaching enemy and was concentrating his troops north of Vienna in Moravia. Here he had been joined by the Russian army. The allies determined to risk a battle with the French and occupied a favorable position on a hill near the village of Austerlitz, which was to be made forever famous by the terrible winter battle which occurred there, December 2. The Russians having descended the hill to attack the weaker wing of Napoleon's army, the French occupied the heights which the Russians had deserted, and poured a deadly fire upon the enemy's rear. The allies were routed and thousands of their troops were drowned as they sought to escape across the thin ice of a little lake which lay at the foot of the hill. The Tsar withdrew the

remnants of his forces, while the Emperor in despair agreed to submit to a humiliating peace, the Treaty of Pressburg.

The Treaty of Pressburg (December 26, 1805)

By this treaty Austria recognized all Napoleon's changes in Italy, and ceded to his kingdom of Italy that portion of the Venetian territory which she had received at Campo Formio. Moreover, she ceded Tyrol to Bavaria, which was friendly to Napoleon, and other of her possessions to Würtemberg and Baden, also friends of the French emperor. As head of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II also agreed that the rulers of Bavaria and Würtemberg should be raised to the rank of kings, and that they and the grand duke of Baden should enjoy "the plenitude of sovereignty" and all rights derived therefrom, precisely as did the rulers of Austria and Prussia.

Napoleon forms a new dependency, — the Confederation of the Rhine (1806)

These provisions of the Treaty of Pressburg are of vital importance in the history of Germany. By explicitly declaring several of the larger of the German states altogether independent of the Emperor, Napoleon prepared the way for the formation in Germany of another dependency which, like Holland and the kingdom of Italy, should support France in future wars. In the summer of 1806 Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and thirteen lesser German states united into a league known as the Confederation of the Rhine. This union was to be under the "protection" of the French emperor and to furnish him with sixty-three thousand soldiers, who were to be organized by French officers and to be at his disposal when he needed them.

Napoleon refuses longer to recognize the existence of the Holy Roman Empire

On August 1 Napoleon announced to the diet of the Holy Roman Empire at Ratisbon that he had, "in the dearest interests of his people and of his neighbors," accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and that he could therefore no longer recognize the existence of the Holy Roman Empire, which had long been merely a shadow of its former self. A considerable number of its members had become sovereign powers and its continuation could only be a source of dissension and confusion.

Francis II assumes the title of Emperor of Austria (1804)

The Emperor, Francis II, like his predecessors for several hundred years, was the ruler of the various Austrian dominions. He was officially known as King of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Galicia, and Laodomeria, Duke of Lorraine, Venice, Salzburg, etc., etc. When, however, the First Consul received as ruler of France the title of Emperor of the French, Francis determined to substitute for his long array of individual titles the brief and dignified formula, Hereditary Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary.

Francis abdicates as Emperor (August 6, 1806) and the Holy Roman Empire is dissolved

After the Treaty of Pressburg and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, he became convinced of the utter impossibility of longer fulfilling the duties of his office as head of the Holy Roman Empire and accordingly abdicated on August 6, 1806. In this way he formally put an end to a line of rulers who had, for well-nigh eighteen centuries, proudly maintained that they were the successors of Augustus Cæsar, the first Roman emperor. The slight bond that had held the practically independent German states together was now dissolved, and the way was left clear for a series of reconstructions which have resulted in the formation of a new and powerful German Empire with the king of Prussia at its head. But the story of this must be deferred.

Napoleon assigns Naples to Joseph Bonaparte and Holland to Louis

Napoleon went on steadily developing what he called "the real French Empire," namely, the dependent states under his control which lay outside the bounds of France itself. Immediately after the battle of Austerlitz, he had proclaimed that Ferdinand IV, the Bourbon king of Naples, had ceased to reign. He ordered one of his generals to proceed to southern Italy and "hurl from the throne that guilty woman," Queen Caroline, who had favored the English and entertained Lord Nelson. In March he appointed his elder brother, Joseph, king of Naples and Sicily, and a younger brother, Louis, king of Holland.

One of the most important of the continental states, it will have been noticed, had taken no part as yet in the opposition

to the extension of Napoleon's influence. Prussia, the first power to conclude peace with the new French republic in 1795, had since that time maintained a strict neutrality. Had it yielded to Tsar Alexander's persuasions and joined the coalition in 1805, it might have turned the tide at Austerlitz, or at any rate have encouraged further resistance to the conqueror. The hesitation of Frederick William III at that juncture proved a grave mistake, for Napoleon now forced him into war at a time when he could look for no efficient assistance from Russia or the other powers.

Prussia forced into war with France

The immediate cause of the declaration of war was the disposal of Hanover. This electorate Frederick William had consented to hold provisionally, pending its possible transfer to him should the English king give his assent. Prussia was anxious to get possession of Hanover because it lay just between her older possessions and the territory which she had gained in the redistribution of 1803.

Question of Hanover

Napoleon, as usual, did not fail either to see or to use his advantage. His conduct toward Prussia was most insolent. After setting her at enmity with England and promising that she should have Hanover, he unblushingly offered to restore the electorate to George III. His insults now began to arouse the national spirit in Prussia, and the reluctant Frederick William was forced by the party in favor of war, which included his beautiful queen, Louise, and the great statesman Stein, to break with Napoleon.

Napoleon's insolent behavior toward Prussia

The Prussian army was, however, as has been well said, "only that of Frederick the Great grown twenty years older"; one of Frederick's generals, the aged duke of Brunswick, who had issued the famous manifesto in 1792, was its leader. A double defeat near Jena (October 14, 1806) put Prussia entirely in the hands of her enemy. This one disaster produced complete demoralization throughout the country. Fortresses were surrendered without resistance and the king fled to the uttermost parts of his realm on the Russian boundary.

Decisive defeat of the Prussian army at Jena, 1806

The campaign in Poland (November–June, 1806–1807)

After crushing Prussia, Napoleon led his army into what had once been the kingdom of Poland. Here he spent a winter of great hardships and dangers in operations against the Russians and their feeble allies, the Prussians. He closed a difficult campaign far from France by the signal victory of Friedland (not far from Königsberg), and then arranged for an interview with the Tsar. The two rulers met on a raft in the river Niemen (June 25, 1807), and there privately arranged the provisions of the Treaty of Tilsit between France, Russia, and Prussia. The Tsar, Alexander I, was completely won over by Napoleon's skillful diplomacy. He shamefully deserted his helpless ally, Frederick William III of Prussia, and turned against England, whose subsidies he had been accepting.

Napoleon dismembers Prussia in order to create the grand duchy of Warsaw and the kingdom of Westphalia

Napoleon had no mercy upon Prussia, which he ruthlessly dismembered by depriving it of all its possessions west of the Elbe River, and all that it had gained in the second and third partitions of Poland. From the lands which he forced Frederick William to cede to him at Tilsit, Napoleon established two new French dependencies by forming the Polish territories into the grand duchy of Warsaw, of which his friend, the king of Saxony, was made ruler; and creating from the western territory (to which he later added Hanover) the kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome.

Terms of the secret alliance of Tilsit between Napoleon and the Tsar

Russia, on the other hand, he treated with marked consideration, and proposed that he and the Tsar should form an alliance which would enable him to have his way in western Europe and Alexander in the east. The Tsar consented to the dismemberment of Prussia and agreed to recognize all the sweeping changes which Napoleon had made during previous years. He secretly promised, if George III refused to conclude peace, to join France against England, and to force Denmark and Portugal to exclude English ships from their ports. In this way England would be cut off from all of western Europe, since Napoleon would have the whole coast practically under his control. In return for these promises, Napoleon engaged

to aid the Tsar in seizing Finland from Sweden and annexing the so-called Danubian provinces, — Moldavia and Wallachia, — which belonged to the Sultan of Turkey.[1]

The Continental Blockade

29. In arranging the Treaty of Tilsit, it is evident that Napoleon had constantly in mind his most persistent and inaccessible enemy, England. However marvelous his successes by land might be, he had no luck on the sea. He had beheld his Egyptian fleet sink under Nelson's attack in 1798. When he was making preparations to transport his army across the Channel in 1805, he was humiliated to discover that the English were keeping his main squadron penned up in the harbors of Brest and Cadiz. The day after he captured General Mack's whole army with such ease at Ulm, Nelson had annihilated off Cape Trafalgar the French squadron which had ventured out from Cadiz. After Tilsit, Napoleon set himself more earnestly than ever to bring England to terms by ruining her commerce and industry, since he had no hope of subduing her by arms. He proposed to make "that race of shopkeepers" cry for peace by absolutely cutting them off from trade with the continent of Europe and so drying up their sources of prosperity.

Napoleon's plan of bringing England to terms by ruining her commerce

In May, 1806, England had declared the coast from the mouth of the Elbe to Brest to be "blockaded," that is to say, she gave warning that her war vessels and privateers would capture any vessel that attempted to enter or leave any of the ports between these two points. After he had won the battle of Jena, Napoleon replied to this by his Berlin Decree (November, 1806) in which he proclaimed that England had "disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment which civilization should bring to mankind"; that it was a monstrous abuse on her part to declare great stretches of coast in a state of blockade which her whole fleet would be

Napoleon's Berlin Decree (November 21, 1806)

[1] They now form the kingdom of Roumania.

unable to enforce. Nevertheless he believed it a natural right to use the same measures against her that she employed against him. He therefore retaliated by declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade and forbidding all commerce with them. Letters or packages addressed to England or to an Englishman, or even written in the English language, were not to be permitted to pass through the mails in the countries he controlled. All trade in English goods was prohibited. Any British subject discovered in the countries occupied by French troops, or in the territories of Napoleon's allies, was to be regarded as a prisoner of war and his property as a lawful prize. This was, of course, only a "paper" blockade, since France and her allies could do little more than capture, now and then, some unfortunate vessel which was supposed to be coming from, or bound to, an English port.

England prepared to grant licenses to neutral ships. Napoleon's Milan Decree (December 7, 1807)

A year later England established a similar paper blockade of the ports of the French Empire and its allies, but hit upon the happy idea of permitting the ships of neutral powers to proceed, provided that they touched at an English port, secured a license from the English government, and paid a heavy export duty. Napoleon was ready with a still more outrageous measure. In a decree issued from "our royal palace at Milan" (December, 1807), he ordered that all vessels, of whatever nationality, which submitted to the humiliating regulations of England, should be regarded as lawful prizes by the French privateers.

Sad plight of the vessels of the United States

The ships of the United States were at this time the most numerous and important of the neutral vessels carrying on the world's trade, and a very hard time they had between the Scylla of the English orders and the Charybdis of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees.[1] The Baltimore *Evening Post* in September, 1808, calculated that if an American ship bound for Holland with four hundred hogsheads of tobacco should decide to meet England's requirements and touch at London

[1] For the text of the Berlin and Milan decrees, see *Readings*, sect. 44.

on the way, its owners would pay one and a half pence per pound on the tobacco, and twelve shillings for each ton of the ship. With a hundred dollars for England's license to proceed on her way, and sundry other dues, the total would come to about thirteen thousand dollars. On the way home, if the neutral vessel wished to avoid the chance of capture by an English cruiser, she might pay, perhaps, sixteen thousand five hundred dollars more to England for the privilege of returning to Baltimore with a cargo of Holland gin. This would make the total contributions paid to Great Britain for a single voyage about thirty thousand dollars.

The United States tries to defend its shipping interests by an embargo

Alarmed and exasperated at the conduct of England and France, the Congress of the United States, at the suggestion of President Jefferson, passed an embargo act (December, 1807), which forbade all vessels to leave port. It was hoped that this would prevent the further loss of American ships and at the same time so interfere with the trade of England and France that they would make some concessions. But the only obvious result was the destruction of the previously flourishing commerce of the Atlantic coast towns, especially in New England. Early in 1809 Congress was induced to permit trade once more with the European nations, excepting France and England, whose vessels were still to be strictly excluded from all the ports of the United States.

Napoleon proposes to render Europe independent of colonial products

Napoleon expressed the utmost confidence in his plan of ruining England by cutting her off from the Continent. He was cheered to observe that a pound sterling was no longer worth twenty-five francs but only seventeen, and that the discouraged English merchants were beginning to urge Parliament to conclude peace. In order to cripple England permanently, he proposed to wean Europe from the use of those colonial products with which it had been supplied by English ships. He therefore encouraged the substitution of chicory for coffee, the cultivation of the sugar beet, and the discovery of new dyes to replace those — such as indigo and cochineal —

which came from the tropics. This "Continental System" caused a great deal of distress and discontent and contributed to his downfall, inasmuch as he had to resort to despotic measures to break up the old system of trade. Then he was led to make continual additions to his already unwieldy empire in order to get control of the whole coast line of western Europe, from the boundaries of Prussia around to those of the Turkish Empire.

Napoleon at the Zenith of His Power (1808–1812)

Napoleon's policy in France

30. France owed much to Napoleon, for he had restored order and guaranteed many of the beneficent achievements of the Revolution of 1789. His boundless ambition was, it is true, sapping her strength by forcing younger and younger men into his armies in order to build up the vast international federation which he planned. But his victories and the commanding position to which he had raised France could not but fill the nation with pride.

Public works

He sought to gain popular approval by great public improvements. He built magnificent roads along the Rhine and the Mediterranean and across the Alps, which still fill the traveler with admiration. He beautified Paris by opening up wide streets and quays and constructing bridges and triumphal arches that kept fresh in the people's minds the recollection of his victories. By these means he gradually converted a mediæval town into the most beautiful of modern capitals.

The "university" established by Napoleon in 1806

In order to be sure that the young people were brought up to venerate his name and support his government, Napoleon completely reorganized the schools and colleges of France. These he consolidated into a single "university"[1] which

[1] Only the theological seminaries and the polytechnic schools were excluded from the university. Napoleon's plan resembled the Board of Regents which constitutes the University of the State of New York.

comprised all the instruction from the most elementary to the most advanced. A "grand master" was put at its head, and a university council of thirty members drew up regulations for all the schools, prepared the text-books, and controlled the teachers, high and low, throughout France. The university had its own large endowment, and its instructors were to be suitably prepared in a normal school established for the purpose.

The government could at any time interfere if it disapproved of the teaching; the prefect was to visit the schools in his department and report on their condition to the minister of the interior. The first schoolbook to be drawn up was the *Imperial Catechism;* in this the children were taught to say: "Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes levied for the preservation and defense of the empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the State." [1]

The *Imperial Catechism*

Napoleon not only created a new nobility but he endeavored to assure the support of distinguished individuals by making them members of the Legion of Honor which he founded. The "princes," whom he nominated, received an annual income of two hundred thousand francs. The ministers of state, senators, members of his Council of State, and the archbishops received the title of Count and a revenue of thirty thousand francs, and so on. The army was not forgotten, for Napoleon felt that to be his chief support. The incomes of his marshals were enormous, and brave actions among the soldiers were rewarded with the decoration of the Legion of Honor.

The new nobility and the Legion of Honor

Napoleon was, however, never content with his achievements or his glory. On the day of his coronation he complained to his minister, Decrès, that he had been born too late, that there was nothing great to be done any more. On his minister's

Napoleon's discontent with his achievements

[1] See *Readings*, sect. 43, for further extracts from this extraordinary document.

remonstrating, he added: "I admit that my career has been brilliant and that I have made a good record. But what a difference is there if we compare ours with ancient times. Take Alexander the Great, for example. When he announced himself the son of Jupiter, the whole East, except his mother, Aristotle, and a few Athenian pedants, believed this to be true. But now, should I nowadays declare myself the son of the Eternal Father, there is n't a fishwife who would n't hiss me. No, the nations are too sophisticated, nothing great is any longer possible."

Napoleon's despotism in France

As time went on Napoleon's despotism grew more and more oppressive. No less than thirty-five hundred prisoners of state were arrested at his command, one because he hated Napoleon, another because in his letters he expressed sentiments adverse to the government. No grievance was too petty to attract the attention of the emperor's jealous eye. He ordered the title of *A History of Bonaparte* to be changed to *The History of the Campaigns of Napoleon the Great.* He forbade the performance of certain of Schiller's and Goethe's plays in German towns, as tending to arouse the patriotic discontent of the people with his rule.

Napoleon's European power threatened by the growth of national opposition to him

Up to this time Napoleon had had only the opposition of the several European courts to overcome in the extension of his power. The people of the various states which he had conquered showed an extraordinary indifference toward the political changes. It was clear, however, that as soon as the national spirit was once awakened, the highly artificial system created by the French emperor would collapse. His first serious reverse came from the people, and from an unexpected quarter.

A French army occupies Portugal (November, 1807)

After concluding the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon turned his attention to the Spanish peninsula. He was on friendly terms with the court of Spain, but little Portugal continued to admit English ships to her harbors. In October he ordered the Portuguese government to declare war on England and to confiscate

all English property. Upon its refusal to obey the second part of the order, he commanded General Junot to invade Portugal and take charge of the government. Thereupon the royal family resolved to take refuge in their vast Brazilian empire, and when Junot reached Lisbon they were receiving the salutes of the English squadron as they moved down the Tagus on the way to their new home across the Atlantic. Easy and simple as was the subsequent occupation of Portugal, it proved one of Napoleon's serious mistakes.

Napoleon makes his brother Joseph king of Spain (1808)

Owing to quarrels and dissensions in the Spanish royal family, Spain also seemed to Napoleon an easy prey and he determined to add it to his subject kingdoms. In the spring of 1808 he induced both Charles IV of Spain and the crown prince Ferdinand to meet him at Bayonne. Here he was able to persuade or force both of them to surrender their rights to the throne,[1] and on June 6 he appointed his brother Joseph king of Spain. Murat, one of Napoleon's ablest generals, who had married his sister, succeeded Joseph on the throne of Naples.

Revolt in Spain against the foreign ruler (1808)

Joseph entered Madrid in July, armed with excellent intentions and a new constitution. The general rebellion in favor of the Crown Prince Ferdinand, which immediately broke out, had an element of religious enthusiasm in it; for the monks stirred up the people against Napoleon, on the ground that he was an enemy of the Pope and an oppressor of the Church. One French army was captured at Bailén, and another capitulated to the English forces which had landed in Portugal. Before the end of July Joseph and the French troops had been compelled to retreat behind the Ebro River.

[1] Charles IV resigned all his rights to the crown of Spain and the Indies "to the emperor of the French as the only person who, in the existing state of affairs, can reëstablish order." He and his disreputable queen retired to Rome, while Napoleon kept Ferdinand under guard in Talleyrand's country estate. Here this despicable prince lived for six years, occasionally writing a cringing letter to Napoleon. In 1814 he was restored to the Spanish throne as Ferdinand VII, and, as we shall see later, showed himself the consistent enemy of reform. See below, sect. 37.

Spain subdued by arms (December, 1808)

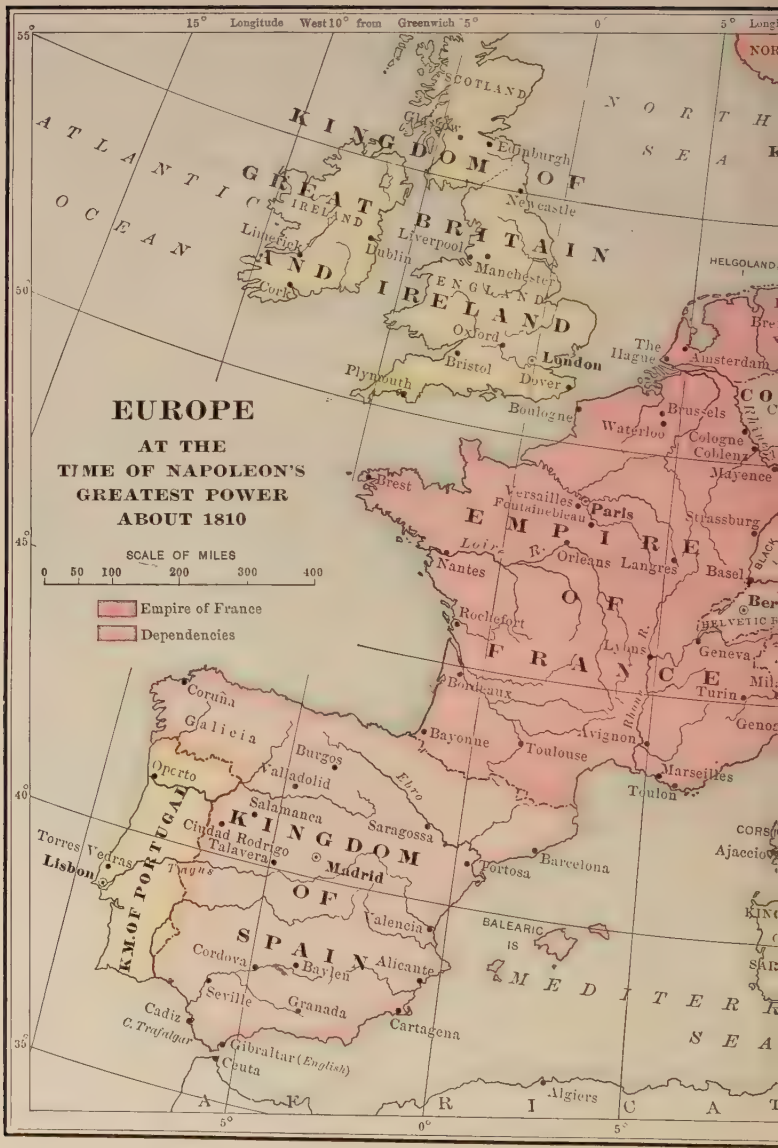
In November the French emperor himself led into Spain a magnificent army, two hundred thousand strong, in the best of condition and commanded by his ablest marshals. The Spanish troops, perhaps one hundred thousand in number, were ill clad and inadequately equipped; what was worse, they were overconfident in view of their late victory. They were, of course, defeated, and Madrid surrendered on December 4. Napoleon thereupon issued a proclamation to the Spanish people in which he said, "It depends upon you alone whether this moderate constitution that I offer you shall henceforth be your law. Should all my efforts prove vain, and should you refuse to justify my confidence, then nothing will remain for me but to treat you as a conquered province and find a new throne for my brother. In that case I shall myself assume the crown of Spain and teach the ill-disposed to respect that crown, for God has given me the power and the will to overcome all obstacles."

Napoleon begins radical reform in Spain

Decrees were immediately issued in which Napoleon abolished all vestiges of the feudal system, and declared that it should be free to every one who conformed to the laws to carry on any industry that he pleased. The tribunal of the Inquisition, for which Spain had been noted for hundreds of years,[1] was abolished and its property seized. The monasteries and convents were to be reduced to one third of their number, and no one, for the time being, was to be permitted to take any monastic vows. The customs lines which separated the Spanish provinces and hampered trade were obliterated and the customhouses transferred to the frontiers of the kingdom. These measures illustrate the way in which Napoleon spread the principles of the French Revolution by arms in those states which, in spite of their benevolent despots, still clung to their half-mediæval institutions.

The next month Napoleon was back in Paris, as he saw that he had another war with Austria on his hands. He left Joseph

[1] See *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, p. 192.


EUROPE
AT THE
TIME OF NAPOLEON'S
GREATEST POWER
ABOUT 1810
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Empire of France
Dependencies
Longitude West 10° from Greenwich 5°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
SCOTLAND
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Newcastle
IRELAND
Limerick
Liverpool
Dublin
Manchester
Cork
ENGLAND
Oxford
Bristol
London
Plymouth
Dover
The Hague
Amsterdam
HELGOLAND
Boulogne
Brussels
Waterloo
Cologne
Coblenz
Mayence
Brest
Versailles
Fontainebleau
Paris
Strassburg
Loire R.
Orleans
Langres
Basel
Nantes
Rochefort
Lyons
Rhone R.
Geneva
Bordeaux
Turin
Coruña
Galicia
Bayonne
Toulouse
Avignon
Oporto
Burgos
Valladolid
Ebro R.
Marseilles
Toulon
Salamanca
Saragossa
Ciudad Rodrigo
Talavera
Torres Vedras
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Madrid
Barcelona
Portosa
Valencia
BALEARIC IS
Cordova
Bayjen
Alicante
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
Cartagena
C. Trafalgar
Gibraltar (English)
Ceuta
Algiers
EMPIRE OF FRANCE
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
KM. OF PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA

10° from Greenwich 15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
55°
50°
45°
40°
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
Riga
Moscow
Borodino
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Kovno
Vilna
Königsberg
Tilsit
Friedland
Swedish Pomerania
Rep. of Danzig
EMPIRE OF RUSSIA
Beresina
KM. OF PRUSSIA
Stettin
Thorn
Berlin
GR. DUCHY OF WARSAW
Podubin
Posen
Warsaw
Kiev
Pultowa
Dnieper R.
Elbe
Oder
Breslau
Krakow
Galicia
Lutzen
Saxon
Leipsic
Jena
Dresden
Prague
Bohemia
Würzburg
Brunn
Austerlitz
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
Ratisbon
Aspern
Wagram
Pressburg
Munich
Vienna
HUNGARY
Jassy
Moldavia
Innsbruck
Tyrol
Trent
Triest
Venice
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
Temesvar
Wallachia
Bucharest
Silistria
BLACK SEA
Belgrade
Danube R.
Varna
ADRIATIC SEA
TURKISH EMPIRE
Sophia
Constantinople
Scutari
Ragusa
Cattaro
Adrianople
KM. OF NAPLES
Rome
Naples
Brindisi
Saloniki
Otranto
Janina
KORFU
IONIAN ISLANDS
Smyrna
Cosenza
Athens
Palermo
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Messina
Syracuse
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS
15°
20°
25°
30°

on a very insecure throne, and, in spite of the arrogant confidence of his proclamation to the Spaniards, he was soon to discover that they could maintain a guerilla warfare against which his best troops and most distinguished generals were powerless. His ultimate downfall was in no small measure due to the persistent hostility of the Spanish people.

Spain continues to require the presence of French troops

Austria was fearful, since Napoleon had gained Russia's friendship, that he might be tempted, should he succeed in putting down the stubborn resistance of the Spaniards, still further to increase his empire at her expense. She had been reorganizing and increasing her army, and decided that it was best to strike while some two hundred thousand of Napoleon's troops were busy in Spain. So the Austrian emperor's brother, the Archduke Charles, led his forces westward in April, 1809, and issued an appeal to the German nation in which he urged them to imitate the heroic Spaniards and rise against their oppressors. Although there was an ever-growing party in Prussia and southern Germany which longed to throw off Napoleon's yoke, the king of Prussia refused to join Austria unless Russia would lend her aid. The monarchs who composed the Confederation of the Rhine also clung to their "Protector," so Austria was left to meet "the enemy of Europe" single-handed.

Austria takes the field against Napoleon (April, 1809)

After defeating the Archduke Charles in Bavaria, Napoleon marched on to Vienna, but he did not succeed in crushing the Austrian forces as easily and promptly as he had done at Austerlitz in 1805. Indeed he was actually defeated at the battle of Aspern (May 21–22), but finally gained a rather doubtful victory in the fearful battle of Wagram, near Vienna (July 5–6). Austria was disheartened and again consented to conclude a peace quite as humiliating as that of Pressburg.

Battles of Aspern and Wagram (May and July, 1808)

She had announced that her object in going to war once more was the destruction of Napoleon's system of dependent states and had proposed "to restore to their rightful possessors all those lands belonging to them respectively before the Napoleonic usurpation." The battle of Wagram put an

The Treaty of Vienna (October, 1809)

end to these dreams and the emperor of Austria was forced to surrender to the victor and his friends extensive territories, together with four million Austrian subjects. A strip of land, including Salzburg, was given to the king of Bavaria; on the north, Galicia (which Austria had received in the first partition of Poland) was ceded to Napoleon's ally, the grand duke of Warsaw; and finally, along the Adriatic, Napoleon exacted a district which he added to his own empire under the name of the Illyrian Provinces. This last cession served to cut Austria entirely off from the sea.

Napoleon marries the Archduchess Maria Louisa (April, 1810)

The new Austrian minister, Metternich, was anxious to establish a permanent alliance with the seemingly invincible emperor of the French and did all he could to heal the breach between Austria and France by a royal marriage. Napoleon ardently desired an heir to whom he could transmit his vast dominions. As Josephine had borne him no children, he decided to divorce her, and, after considering and rejecting a Russian princess, he married (April, 1810) the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Austrian emperor and a grandniece of Marie Antoinette. In this way the former Corsican adventurer gained admission to one of the oldest and proudest of reigning families, the Hapsburgs. His second wife soon bore him a son, who was styled "King of Rome."

Napoleon "reunites" the Papal States to France (1809)

While Napoleon was in the midst of the war with Austria, he had issued a proclamation "reuniting" the Papal States to the French Empire. He argued that it was Charlemagne, emperor of the French, his august predecessor, who had given the lands to the Popes and that now, since the tranquillity and welfare of his people required that the territory be reunited to France, it was his obvious duty to deprive the Pope of his dominions.

Annexation of Holland and the Hanseatic towns (1810)

Holland, it will be remembered, had been formed into a kingdom under the rule of Napoleon's brother Louis. The brothers had never agreed,[1] and in 1810 Holland was annexed

[1] Louis Bonaparte, the father of Napoleon III, and the most conscientious of the Bonaparte family, had been so harassed by Napoleon that he had abdicated.

to France, as well as the German territory to the north, including the great ports of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck.

Napoleon had now reached the zenith of his power. All of western Europe, except England, was apparently under his control. France itself reached from the Baltic nearly to the Bay of Naples and included a considerable district beyond the Adriatic. The emperor of the French was also king of Italy and "protector" of the Confederation of the Rhine, which now included all of the German states except Austria and the remains of the kingdom of Prussia. Napoleon's brother Joseph was king of Spain, and his brother-in-law, Murat, king of Naples. Poland once more appeared on the map as the grand duchy of Warsaw, a faithful ally of its "restorer." The possessions of the emperor of Austria had so shrunk on the west that Hungary was now by far the most important part of Francis I's realms,[1] but he had the satisfaction of beholding in his grandson, the king of Rome, the heir to unprecedented power. Surely in the history of the world there is nothing comparable to the career of Napoleon Bonaparte! He was, as a sage Frenchman has said, "as great as a man can be without virtue."

Maximum extent of Napoleon's power

The Fall of Napoleon

31. But all Napoleon's military genius, his statesmanship, his tireless vigilance, and his absolute unscrupulousness could not invent means by which an empire such as he had built up could be held together permanently. Even if he could, by force or persuasion, have induced the monarchs to remain his vassals, he could not cope with the growing spirit of nationality among their subjects which made subordination to a French ruler seem a more and more shameful thing to Spaniards, Germans, and Italians alike. Moreover there were two governments that he had not succeeded in conquering, — England and Russia.

Insecurity of Napoleon's achievements

[1] Emperor Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire had become Francis I, emperor of Austria.

Wellington and the English in Spain (1808–1812)

The English, far from begging for peace on account of the continental blockade, had annihilated the French sea power and now began to attack Napoleon on land. Sir Arthur Wellesley (a commander who had made a reputation in India, and who is better known by his later title of the Duke of Wellington) had landed English troops in Portugal (August, 1808) and forced Junot and the French army to evacuate the country. While Napoleon was busy about Vienna in 1809 Wellesley had invaded Spain and gained a victory over the French there. He then retired again to Portugal where he spent the winter constructing a system of fortifications — the lines of Torres Vedras — on a rocky promontory near Lisbon. From here he could carry on his operations against the French with security and success. He and his Spanish allies continued to occupy the attention of about three hundred thousand of Napoleon's troops and some of his very best generals. So Napoleon never really conquered Spain, which proved a constant drain on his resources, a source of humiliation to him and of exultation and encouragement to his enemies.

The lines of Torres Vedras

Relations between Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia

Among the continental states Russia alone was entirely out of Napoleon's control. Up to this time the agreement of Tilsit had been maintained. There were, however, plenty of causes for misunderstanding between the ardent young Tsar, Alexander I, and Napoleon. Napoleon was secretly opposing, instead of aiding, Alexander's plans for adding the Danubian provinces to his possessions. Then the possibility of Napoleon's reëstablishing Poland as a national kingdom, which might threaten Russia's interests, was a constant source of apprehension to Alexander.

Russia could not afford to enforce the continental blockade

The chief difficulty lay, however, in Russia's unwillingness to enforce the continental blockade. The Tsar was willing, in accordance with the Treaty of Tilsit, to continue to close his harbors to English ships, but he refused to accede to Napoleon's demand that he shut out vessels sailing under a neutral flag. Russia had to dispose of her own products in some way

MARSHAL NEY SUSTAINING THE REAR GUARD OF THE GRAND ARMY ON THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

and to obtain English manufactures, as well as coffee, sugar, spices, and other tropical and semi-tropical products which she had no hope of producing herself. Her comfort and prosperity depended, therefore, upon the neutral vessels which visited her Baltic ports.

Napoleon determines to attack Russia (1812)

Napoleon viewed the open Russian ports as a fatal flaw in his continental system and began to make preparations for an attack upon his doubtful friend, who was already beginning to look like an enemy. In 1812 he believed that he was ready to subdue even distant Russia. His more far-sighted counselors vainly attempted to dissuade him by pointing out the fearful risks that he was taking. Deaf to their warnings, he collected on the Russian frontier a vast army of half a million men, composed to a great extent of young French recruits and the contingents furnished by his allies.

Napoleon's campaign in Russia (1812)

The story of the fearful Russian campaign which followed cannot be told here in detail. Napoleon had planned to take three years to conquer Russia, but he was forced on by the necessity of gaining at least one signal victory before he closed the first season's campaign. The Russians simply retreated and led him far within a hostile and devastated country before they offered battle at Borodino (September 7). Napoleon won the battle, but his army was reduced to something over one hundred thousand men when he entered Moscow a week later. The town had been set on fire by the Russians before his arrival; he found his position untenable, and had to retreat as winter came on. The cold, the lack of food, and the harassing attacks of the people along the route made that retreat the most signal military tragedy on record. Napoleon regained Poland early in December, accompanied by scarcely twenty thousand men of the five hundred thousand with whom he had opened the campaign less than six months before.[1]

[1] This does not mean that all but twenty thousand had been killed. Some of the contingents, that of Prussia for example, did not take an active part in the war. Some idea of the horrors of the Russian campaign may be obtained from the descriptions given in the *Readings*, sect. 46.

Napoleon collects a new army

He hastened back to Paris, where he freely misrepresented the true state of affairs, even declaring that the army was in good condition up to the time when he had turned it over to Murat in December. While the loss of men in the Russian campaign was enormous, just those few had naturally survived who would be most essential in the formation of a new army, namely the officers. With their help Napoleon soon had a force of no less than six hundred thousand men with which to return to the attack. This contained one hundred and fifty thousand conscripts who should not have been called into service until 1814, besides older men who had been hitherto exempted.

What Prussia had suffered from Napoleon

The first of his allies to desert Napoleon was Prussia, — and no wonder. She had felt his tyranny as no other country had. He had not only taken her lands; he had cajoled and insulted her; he had forced her to send her ablest minister, Stein, into exile because he had aroused the French emperor's dislike; he had opposed every measure of reform which might have served to strengthen the diminished kingdom which he had left to Frederick William III.

Reform of Prussia after the battle Jena

Prussia, notwithstanding the reforms of Frederick the Great, had retained its half-feudal institutions down to the decisive defeat of Jena. The agricultural classes were serfs bound to the soil and compelled to work a certain part of each week for their lords without remuneration. The population was still divided into three distinct castes, nobles, burghers, and peasants, who could not acquire one another's land. The disaster of Jena and the losses at Tilsit convinced the statesmen of Prussia — among whom Baron von Stein and Prince Hardenberg were conspicuous — that the country's only hope of recovery was a complete social and political revolution not unlike that which had taken place in France. They saw that the old system must be abolished, the peasants freed, and the restrictions which hedged about the different classes done away with, before it would be possible to arouse public spirit to a point where a great popular uprising might expel the intruder forever.

Abolition of serfdom in Prussia (October, 1807)

The first step toward this general reform was the royal decree of October 9, 1807,[1] intended to "remove every obstacle that has hitherto prevented the individual from attaining such a degree of prosperity as he is capable of reaching." Serfdom was abolished and the restrictions on landholding removed, so that any one, regardless of class, was at liberty to purchase and hold landed property of every kind.

Founding of the University of Berlin

Every thoughtful Prussian had been deeply shocked by the cowardly way in which the enemy had been permitted to occupy the whole country after a single defeat. Men like William von Humboldt and the philosopher Fichte forwarded a moral and educational reform. The University of Berlin, now one of the foremost institutions of learning in the world, was founded, and four hundred and fifty-eight students matriculated during the first year (1810–1811). The *Gymnasien*, or high schools, were also greatly improved. A League of Virtue (*Tugendbund*), which was formed for the encouragement of morality and public spirit, did much to foster the growing love for the fatherland and the ever-increasing hatred of French domination.

The *Tugendbund*

The nationalizing of the Prussian army by Scharnhorst

The old army of Frederick the Great had been completely discredited, and a few days after the signature of the Treaty of Tilsit, a commission for military reorganization was appointed with a military genius, Scharnhorst, at its head. The main aim of Scharnhorst was to give every man a share in the work of defending his country. Napoleon permitted Prussia to maintain an army of no more than forty-two thousand men, but Scharnhorst arranged that this should constantly be recruited by new men, while those who had had some training in the ranks should retire and form a reserve. In this way, in spite of the small size of the regular army, there were as many as one hundred and fifty thousand men ready to fight when the opportunity should come. (This system was later adopted by

[1] This decree may be found in the *Readings*, sect. 46.

the other European states and is the basis of all the great armies of to-day.) Moreover the custom of permitting only nobles to be officers was abandoned, and foreign mercenaries were no longer to be employed.

Yorck deserts Napoleon

The Prussian contingent which Napoleon had ordered to support him in his campaign against Alexander was under the command of Yorck. It had held back and so was not involved in the destruction of the main army. On learning of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, Yorck joined the Russians.

Prussia joins Russia against Napoleon (February, 1813)

This action of Yorck and the influence of public opinion finally induced the faint-hearted king, who was still apprehensive of Napoleon's vengeance, to sign a treaty with the Tsar (February 27, 1813), in which Russia agreed not to lay down arms until Prussia should be restored to a total area equal to that she had possessed before the fatal battle of Jena. It was understood that she should give up to the Tsar all that she had received in the second and third partitions of Poland and be indemnified by annexations in northern Germany. This proved a very important stipulation. On March 17 Frederick William issued a proclamation "To my People," in which he summoned his subjects — Brandenburgers, Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians, and Lithuanians — to follow the example of the Spaniards and free their country from the rule of a faithless and insolent tyrant.

Napoleon's campaign in Saxony (1813)

Napoleon's situation was, however, by no means desperate so long as Italy, Austria, and the Confederation of the Rhine stood by him. With the new army which he had collected after his disastrous campaign in Russia the previous year, he marched to Leipzig, where he found the Russians and the Prussians under Blücher awaiting him. He once more defeated the allies at Lützen (May 2, 1813), and then moved on to Dresden, the capital of his faithful friend, the king of Saxony. During the summer he inflicted several defeats upon the allies, and on August 26–27 he won his last great victory, the battle of Dresden.

Austria and Sweden turn against Napoleon

Metternich's friendship had grown cold as Napoleon's position became more and more uncertain. He was willing to maintain the alliance between Austria and France if Napoleon would abandon a considerable portion of his conquests since 1806. As Napoleon refused to do this, Austria joined the allies in August. Meanwhile Sweden, which a year or two before had chosen one of Napoleon's marshals, Bernadotte, as its crown prince,[1] also joined the allies and sent an army into northern Germany.

Napoleon defeated in the battle of Leipzig (October, 1813).

Finding that the allied armies of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden, under excellent generals like Blücher and Bernadotte, had at last learned that it was necessary to coöperate if they hoped to crush their ever-alert enemy, and that they were preparing to cut him off from France, Napoleon retreated early in October to Leipzig. Here the tremendous "Battle of the Nations," as the Germans love to call it, raged for four days. No less than one hundred and twenty thousand men were killed or wounded and Napoleon was totally defeated (October 16–19).

The dissolution of Napoleon's empire

As the emperor of the French escaped across the Rhine with the remnants of his army, the whole fabric of his vast political edifice crumbled. The members of the Confederation of the Rhine renounced their protector and joined the allies. Jerome fled from his kingdom of Westphalia, and the Dutch drove the French officials out of Holland. Wellington had been steadily and successfully engaged in aiding the Spanish against their common enemy and by the end of 1813 Spain was practically cleared of the French intruders so that Wellington could press on across the Pyrenees into France.[2]

[1] See below, p. 230.

[2] The United States exasperated by England's interference with her commerce and her impressment of American seamen declared war against Great Britain in June, 1812. This exercised no appreciable effect upon the course of affairs in Europe. The Americans succeeded in capturing a surprising number of English ships and preventing the enemy from invading New England or taking New Orleans. On the other hand, the English succeeded in defending the Canadian boundary and took and destroyed Washington (August, 1814) just before the opening of the Congress of Vienna. Peace was concluded at Ghent before the end of the year, after about a year and a half of hostilities.

Occupation of Paris by the allies (March 31, 1814)

In spite of these disasters, Napoleon refused the propositions of peace made on condition that he would content himself henceforth with his dominion over France. The allies consequently marched into France, and the almost superhuman activity of the hard-pressed emperor could not prevent their occupation of Paris (March 31, 1814). Napoleon was forced to abdicate, and the allies, in seeming derision, granted him full sovereignty over the tiny island of Elba, off the coast of Tuscany, and permitted him to retain his imperial title. In reality he was a prisoner on his island kingdom, and the Bourbons reigned again in France.

Napoleon abdicates and is banished to the island of Elba

Return of Napoleon

Within a year, encouraged by the dissensions of the allies and the unpopularity of the Bourbons, he made his escape, landed in France (March 1, 1815), and was received with enthusiasm by a portion of the army. Yet France as a whole was indifferent, if not hostile, to his attempt to reëstablish his power. Certainly no one could place confidence in his talk of peace and liberty. Moreover, whatever disagreement there might be among the allies on other matters, there was perfect unanimity in their attitude toward "the enemy and destroyer of the world's peace." They solemnly proclaimed him an outlaw, and devoted him to public vengeance.

Battle of Waterloo, June, 1815

Upon learning that English troops under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher had arrived in the Netherlands, Napoleon decided to attack them with such troops as he could collect. In the first engagements he defeated and drove back the Prussians. Wellington then took his station south of Brussels, at Waterloo. Napoleon advanced against him (June 18, 1815) and might have defeated the English had they not been opportunely reënforced by Blücher's Prussians, who had recovered themselves. As it was, Napoleon lost the most memorable of modern battles. Yet even if he had not been defeated at Waterloo, he could not long have opposed the vast armies which were being concentrated to overthrow him.

Napoleon banished to St. Helena

The fugitive emperor hastened to the coast, but found it so carefully guarded by English ships that he decided to throw himself upon the generosity of the English nation. The British government treated him, however, as a dangerous prisoner of war rather than as a retired foreign general and statesman of distinction who desired, as he claimed, to finish his days in peaceful seclusion. He was banished with a few companions and guards to the remote island of Saint Helena.[1] Here he spent the six years until his death on May 5, 1821, brooding over his past glories and dictating his memoirs, in which he strove to justify his career and explain his motives.

The Napoleonic legend

"For the general history of Europe the captivity at St. Helena possesses a double interest. Not only did it invest the career of the fallen hero with an atmosphere of martyrdom and pathos, which gave it a new and distinct appeal, but it enabled him to arrange a pose before the mirror of history, to soften away all that had been ungracious and hard and violent, and to draw in firm and authoritative outline a picture of his splendid achievements and liberal designs. . . . The great captain, hero of adventures wondrous as the *Arabian Nights*, passes over the mysterious ocean to his lonely island and emerges transfigured as in some ennobling mirage."[2]

REFERENCES

Napoleon's Reforms in France: FOURNIER, *Napoleon*, chap. ix, pp. 221–241; JOHNSTON, *Napoleon*, chap. vii, pp. 88–102; ROSE, *Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. I, chap. xii, pp. 245–278; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chaps. v–vii, pp. 107–207.

[1] An isolated rocky island lying south of the equator between Brazil and the African coast, from which it is separated by some thirteen hundred miles of water.

[2] H. A. L. Fisher in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 757. Some historians have accepted Napoleon at his own valuation, among them J. S. C. Abbott, whose popular but misleading life of Napoleon has given thousands of readers a wholly false notion of his character and aims.

Campaign of Austerlitz: FOURNIER, chap. xi, pp. 283–324; FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, chap. vi, pp. 179–207; JOHNSTON, chap. ix, pp. 119–129; ROSE, Vol. II, chap. xxii, pp. 1–46.

Napoleon's Creation of New States: FOURNIER, chap. xii, pp. 325–355.

The Continental System: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xiii, pp. 361–389.

Jena and Tilsit: FOURNIER, chap. xiii, pp. 356–390; FYFFE, chap. vii, pp. 208–246; JOHNSTON, pp. 130–147; ROSE, Vol. II, chaps. xxiv–xxvii, pp. 47–145.

Napoleon's Empire at its Height: FOURNIER, chap. xvi, pp. 493–535; FYFFE, chap. ix, pp. 271–306; ROSE, Vol. II, chap. xxxi, pp. 192–212.

Russian Campaign: FOURNIER, chap. xvii, pp. 536–579; FYFFE, chap. x, pp. 307–329; JOHNSTON, pp. 174–188; ROSE, Vol. II, chap. xxxii, pp. 213–245; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xvi, pp. 483–505.

German War of Liberation: FOURNIER, chap. xviii, pp. 580–642; FYFFE, chap. xi, pp. 330–367; JOHNSTON, chap. xiv, pp. 189–209; ROSE, Vol. II, chap. xxxv, pp. 303–366; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xvii, pp. 506–554.

Waterloo: FOURNIER, chap. xx, pp. 694–720; JOHNSTON, chap. xviii, pp. 223–238; ROSE, Vol. II, chap. xxxix, pp. 417–471; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xx, pp. 616–645.

CHAPTER X

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The Congress of Vienna and its Work

Extreme difficulty of adjusting the map of Europe after the great changes of the Napoleonic Period

32. The readjustment of the map of Europe after Napoleon's downfall was an extremely perplexing and delicate operation. Geographical lines centuries old had been swept away by the storms of war and the ambition of the conqueror. Many ancient states had disappeared altogether, — Venice, Genoa, Piedmont, the Papal States, Holland, and scores of little German principalities. These had been either merged into France or the realms of their more fortunate neighbors, or formed into new countries, — the kingdom of Italy, the kingdom of Westphalia, the Confederation of the Rhine, the grand duchy of Warsaw. Those which had survived had, with the exception of England and Russia, received new bounds, new rulers, or new institutions. When Napoleon was forced to abdicate, the princes whose former patrimonies had vanished from the map, or who had been thrust aside, clamored to be restored to their thrones. The great powers, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, whose rulers had been able with more or less success to resist the despoiler and had finally combined to bring about his overthrow, naturally assumed the rôle of arbiters in the settlement. But they were far from impartial judges, since each proposed to gain for itself the greatest possible advantages in the reapportionment of territory.

Some matters settled at the first Peace of Paris, May 30, 1814

The least troublesome points were settled by the allies in the first Treaty of Paris, which had been concluded in May, 1814, immediately after Napoleon had been sent to Elba. They readily agreed, for instance, that the Bourbon dynasty

should be restored to the throne of France in the person of Louis XVI's younger brother, the count of Provence, who took the title of Louis XVIII.[1] They at first permitted France to retain the boundaries she had had on November 1, 1792, but later deprived her of Savoy as a penalty for yielding to Napoleon after his return from Elba.[2] The powers also agreed, at Paris, upon a kingdom of the Netherlands, with increased territories, to be established under the House of Orange; the union of Germany into a confederation of sovereign states; the independence of Switzerland; and the restoration of the monarchical states of Italy. The graver issues and the details of the settlement were left to the consideration of the great congress which was to convene at Vienna in the autumn.[3]

Holland made a kingdom and given the former Austrian Netherlands

Some questions, however, the allies easily settled. They confirmed their former decision that Holland should become an hereditary kingdom under the House of Orange, which had so long played a conspicuous rôle in the nominal republic. In order that Holland might be better able to check any encroachments on the part of France, the Austrian Netherlands (which had been seized by the French Convention early in the revolutionary wars) were joined to the new Dutch kingdom. The fact that most of the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands were not closely connected by language,[4] traditions, or religion with the Dutch had no weight in the councils of the powers, just as no such consideration had arisen in former times when the provinces had passed to Spain by inheritance

[1] The young son of Louis XVI had been imprisoned by the Convention and, according to reports, maltreated by the jailers set to guard him. His fate has been a fruitful theme of historical discussion, but it is probable that he died in 1795. Though he never exercised power in any form, he takes his place in the line of French kings as Louis XVII.

[2] The second Peace of Paris (November, 1815) also provided for the return of the works of art and manuscripts which Napoleon had carried off from Venice, Milan, Rome, Naples, and elsewhere.

[3] On the rivalry of the rulers at the Congress of Vienna, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 375.

[4] About half the people of Belgium to-day speak French, while the remainder use Flemish, a dialect akin to Dutch, and a few speak German.

and, later, to Austria by conquest. The Vienna Congress simply continued the old policy of carving out and distributing states among princes without regard to the wishes of the people concerned.

The consolidation of Germany leaves only thirty-eight surviving states

The territorial settlement of Germany did not prove to be so difficult as might have been expected. No one except the petty princes and the ecclesiastics desired to undo the work of 1803 and restore the old minute subdivisions which had been done away with by the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*. The restoration of the Holy Roman Empire could not be seriously considered by any one, but some sort of union between the surviving thirty-eight German states seemed to be expedient. They were accordingly united by a very loose bond, which permitted the former members of the Confederation of the Rhine to continue to enjoy that precious "sovereignty" which Napoleon had granted them. Formerly that portion of Germany which lies on the Rhine had been so broken up into little states that France was constantly tempted to take advantage of this disintegration to encroach upon German territory. After 1815 this source of weakness was partially remedied, for Prussia was assigned a large tract on the Rhine, while Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg stood by her side to discourage new aggressions from their dangerous enemy on the west.

Strengthening of Germany's western boundary

In the readjustment of Italy, Austria assigned a predominating influence

Italy was not so fortunate as Germany in securing greater unity than she had enjoyed before the French Revolution. Napoleon had reduced and consolidated her various divisions into the kingdom of Italy, of which he was the head, and the kingdom of Naples, which he had finally bestowed on Murat, while Piedmont, Genoa, Tuscany, and the Papal States he had annexed to France.[1] Naturally the powers had no reason for maintaining this arrangement and determined to restore all the former monarchical states. Tuscany, Modena, the Papal States,

[1] Nothing need be said of a half dozen petty Italian territories, — Lucca, San Marino, Benevento, etc.

and Naples were given back to their former princes, and little Parma was assigned to Napoleon's second wife, the Austrian princess, Maria Louisa. The king of Sardinia returned from his island and reëstablished himself in Turin. There were few at the congress to plead for a revival of the ancient republics of Genoa and Venice. The lands of the former were therefore added to those of the king of Sardinia, in order to make as firm a bulwark as possible against France. Austria deemed the territories of Venice a fair compensation for the loss of the Netherlands, and was accordingly permitted to add Venetia to her old duchy of Milan and thus form a new province in northern Italy, the so-called Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

Switzerland

Switzerland gave the allies but little trouble. The Congress of Vienna recognized the cantons as all free and equal, and established their "neutrality" by agreeing never to invade Switzerland or send troops through her territory. The cantons (which had been joined by the former free city of Geneva) then drew up a new constitution, which bound them together into a federation consisting of twenty-two little states.

Personal union of Sweden and Norway under the rule of the House of Bernadotte

The Congress of Vienna ratified an arrangement by which Sweden and Norway were joined under a single ruler, one of Napoleon's generals, Bernadotte. The Norwegians protested, drew up a constitution of their own, and elected a king, but Bernadotte induced them to accept him as their ruler on condition that Norway should have its own separate constitution and government. This was the origin of the "personal union"[1] of Sweden and Norway under Bernadotte and his successors, which lasted until October, 1905.[2]

[1] This is the term applied in international law to describe the union of two or more independent states under a single ruler.

[2] This personal union worked very well so long as the joint king was tolerably free from control by the Swedish parliament, for the Norwegians had their own constitution and parliament, or Storthing, as it is called, and they could regard themselves as practically independent under a sovereign who also happened to be king of Sweden. However, especially near the close of the nineteenth century, the interests of the two countries diverged more and more widely. With the development of parliamentary government the diets of both countries desired to

In these adjustments all was fairly harmonious, but when it came to the rewards claimed by Russia and Prussia there developed at the congress serious differences of opinion which nearly brought on war between the allies themselves, and which encouraged Napoleon's return from Elba. Russia desired the grand duchy of Warsaw, which Napoleon had formed principally out of the territory seized by Austria and Prussia in the partitions of the previous century. The Tsar proposed to increase this duchy by the addition of a portion of Russian Poland and so form a kingdom to be united in a personal union with his other dominions. The king of Prussia agreed to this plan on condition that he should be indemnified for the loss of a large portion of his former Polish territories by the annexation of the lands of the king of Saxony, who, it was argued, merited this retribution for remaining faithful to Napoleon after the other members of the Confederation of the Rhine had deserted him.

Russia and Prussia agree upon the fate of the grand duchy of Warsaw and of the kingdom of Saxony

Austria and England, on the other hand, were opposed to this arrangement. They did not approve of dispossessing the king of Saxony or of extending the Tsar's influence westward by giving him Poland; and Austria had special grounds for objection because a large portion of the duchy of Warsaw which the Tsar proposed to take had formerly belonged to her. The great French diplomatist, Talleyrand, now saw his chance to disturb the good will existing between England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. The allies had resolved to treat France as a black sheep and arrange everything to suit themselves. But now that they were hopelessly at odds Austria and England found the hitherto discredited France a welcome ally. Acting with the consent of Louis XVIII, Talleyrand offered to Austria the aid

England, Austria, and France prepare to oppose the plans of Russia and Prussia

Skillful diplomacy of Talleyrand

control the king's choice of ministers and the foreign policy of the two kingdoms. So, after a long period of friction, the two states agreed to separate on October 26, 1905. Sweden retained her old king, Oscar II (1872–1907), while Norway elected as king Prince Carl, second son of Frederick, king of Denmark, and gave him the title of Haakon VII. The Norwegians still retain the constitution which was drawn up in 1814, but it has been several times modified by democratic measures. See Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 554–566.

of French arms in resisting the proposal of Russia and Prussia, and on January 3, 1815, France, England, and Austria joined in a secret treaty against Russia and Prussia, and even went so far as to draw up a plan of campaign. So France, the disturber of the peace of Europe for the last quarter of a century, was received back into the family of nations, and the French ambassador joyfully announced to his king that the coalition against France was dissolved forever.

The Tsar gets Poland, and Prussia becomes powerful on the Rhine

A compromise was, however, at length arranged without resorting to arms. The Tsar gave up a small portion of the duchy of Warsaw, but was allowed to create the kingdom of Poland on which he had set his heart. Only about one half of the possessions of the king of Saxony were ceded to Prussia, but as a further indemnity Prussia received certain districts on the left bank of the Rhine, which had belonged to petty lay and ecclesiastical princes before the Peace of Lunéville. This proved an important gain for Prussia, although it was not considered so at the time. It gave her a large number of German subjects in exchange for the Poles she lost, and so prepared the way for her to become the dominant power in Germany.

Map of Europe in 1815 as compared with the conditions established by the Treaty of Utrecht

If one compares the map of Europe as it was reconstructed by the plenipotentiaries of the great powers at Vienna, with the situation after the Treaty of Utrecht a hundred years before, several very important changes are apparent. A general consolidation had been effected. Holland and the Austrian Netherlands were united under one king. The Holy Roman Empire, with its hundreds of petty principalities, had disappeared and a union of thirty-eight states and free towns had taken its place. Prussia had greatly increased the extent of its German territories, although these remained rather scattered. The kingdom of Poland still appeared on the map, but had lost its independence and been reduced in extent. Portions of it had fallen to Prussia and Austria, but the great mass of Polish territory was now brought under the control of the Tsar, who was no longer regarded by the western nations as an eastern

potentate, but was regularly admitted to their councils. Austria had lost her outlying provinces of the Netherlands, which had proved so troublesome, but had been indemnified by the lands of the extinct Venetian republic, while her future rival in Italy, the king of Sardinia, had been strengthened by receiving the important city of Genoa and the adjacent territory. Otherwise, Italy remained in her former state of disruption and more completely than ever under the control of Austria.

England gains Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope

The gains of England resulting from the Napoleonic conflict, like all her other acquisitions since the War of the Spanish Succession, were colonial. The most important of these were Ceylon, off the southeastern coast of the Indian peninsula, and the Cape of Good Hope, which had been wrested from the Dutch (1806) while they were under Napoleon's influence. This seemingly insignificant conquest proved to be the basis of the British expansion which has secured the most valuable portions of southern Africa.[1]

Vast extent of England's colonial possessions in 1815

In spite of the loss of the American colonies on the eve of the French Revolution, England possessed in 1815 the foundations of the greatest commercial and colonial power which has ever existed. She still held Canada and all the vast northwest of the North American continent, except Alaska. Important islands in the West Indies furnished stations from which a lucrative trade with South America could be carried on. In Gibraltar she had a sentinel at the gateway of the Mediterranean, and the possession of the Cape of Good Hope not only afforded a basis for pressing into the heart of the most habitable part of Africa, but also a halfway port for vessels bound to distant India. In India the beginnings of

[1] England also received from France the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, east of Madagascar; Tobago, a small island north of the mouth of the Orinoco river; and Saint Lucia, one of the Windward Islands. From Spain England got the island of Trinidad near Tobago, and from Denmark the island of Heligoland, commanding the mouth of the Elbe (recently ceded to Germany). In the Mediterranean England held Malta and, as a protectorate, the Ionian Islands off the coast of Greece, thus securing a basis for operations in the eastern Mediterranean.

empire had already been made in the Bengal region and along the east and west coasts. Finally, in Australia, far away in the southern Pacific, penal settlements had been made which were in time to be supplanted by rich, populous, and prosperous commonwealths. In addition to her colonial strength England possessed the most formidable navy and the largest mercantile marine afloat.

The Congress of Vienna, under the influence of England, condemns the slave trade

The Congress of Vienna marks the condemnation of one of the most atrocious practices which Europe had inherited from an indefinite past, namely, the slave trade.[1] The congress itself did no more than declare the traffic contrary to the principles of civilization and human right; but, under the leadership of England, the various states, with the exception of Spain and Portugal, were busy in doing away with the trade in human beings. The horrors of the business had roused the conscience of the more enlightened and humane Englishmen and Frenchmen in the eighteenth century. Finally, in March, 1807, three weeks after the Congress of the United States had forbidden the importation of slaves,[2] Parliament prohibited Englishmen from engaging in the traffic. Sweden followed England's example in 1813, and Holland a year later. Napoleon, on his return from Elba, in order to gain if possible the confidence of England, abolished the French slave trade.

Disregard of nationality before the nineteenth century

Napoleon had done more than alter the map of Europe and introduce such reforms in the countries under his control as suited his purposes; he had aroused the modern spirit of nationality, which is one of the forces that helped to make

[1] The slave trade, which had prevailed among the Greeks, Romans, and other ancient peoples, had been greatly stimulated by the discovery that African slaves could be profitably used to cultivate the vast plantations of the New World. The English navigator, Hawkins, had carried a cargo of three hundred negroes from Sierra Leone to Hispania in 1562, and so introduced English seamen to a business in which Portugal, Spain, and Holland were already engaged. It is estimated that previous to 1776 at least three million slaves had been imported into French, Spanish, and English colonies, while at least a quarter of a million more had perished during the voyages.

[2] England abolished slavery throughout all her colonies in 1833.

the nineteenth century different from the eighteenth. Before the French Revolution kings went to war without consulting their subjects, and made arrangements with other monarchs in regard to the distribution, division, and annexation of territory without asking the consent of those who lived in the regions involved. Practically no attention was paid to differences in race, for kings gladly added to their realms any lands they could gain by conquest, negotiation, marriage, or inheritance, regardless of the particular kind of subjects that they might bring under their scepters.

The French National Assembly declares the monarch responsible to the nation, and so awakens political life among the people

However, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 had proclaimed that the law was the expression of the general will, and that every citizen had a right, personally or through his representatives, to participate in its formation. The king and his officials were made responsible for their public acts not to God but to the people. This idea that the nation had a right to control the making of the laws and the granting of the taxes, and to choose or depose its ruler, who was responsible to it, served to rouse a general interest in political questions, which could not possibly have developed as long as people were content to believe that God had excluded them from all participation in affairs of State. Political leaders appeared, the newspapers began to discuss public questions, and political societies were formed.

The awakening of nationalism

The various nations became more and more keenly conscious that each had its own language and traditions which made it different from other peoples. Patriotic orators in Germany, Italy, and Greece recalled the glorious past of the ancient Germans, Romans, and Hellenes, with a view to stimulating this enthusiasm. National feeling may be defined as a general recognition that a people should have a government suited to its particular traditions and needs, and should be ruled by its own native officials, and that (if nations were entitled to political rights, as the French Revolution had taught) it is wrong for one people to dominate another, or for monarchs to divide

up, redistribute, and transfer territories with no regard to the wishes of the inhabitants, merely to provide some landless prince with a patrimony.

We shall have to reckon hereafter with this national spirit, which continued to spread and to increase in strength during the nineteenth century. It has played a great part in the unification of Italy and Germany, in the emancipation of Greece and the Balkan states from Turkish dominion, and in the problems which have faced Austria, with its heterogeneous population.

The Holy Alliance: Metternich becomes the Chief Opponent of Revolution

Horror of revolution and suspicion of reform after 1815

33. In June, 1815, the Congress of Vienna brought together the results of all the treaties and arrangements which its various members had agreed upon among themselves, and issued its "Final Act," in which its work was summed up for convenient reference.[1] A few days later the battle of Waterloo and the subsequent exile of Napoleon freed the powers from their chief cause of solicitude during the past fifteen years. No wonder that the restored monarchs, as they composed themselves upon their thrones and reviewed the wars and turmoil which had begun with the French Revolution and lasted more than a quarter of a century, longed for peace at any cost, and viewed with the utmost suspicion any individual or party who ventured to suggest further changes. The word "revolution" had acquired a hideous sound, not only to the rulers and their immediate advisers, but to all the aristocratic class and the clergy, who thought that they had reason enough to abhor the modern tendencies as they had seen them at work.

The Holy Alliance devised by Alexander I (September, 1815)

It was clear that the powers which had combined to reëstablish order must continue their alliance if they hoped to maintain the arrangements they had made and stifle the fires of revolution which were sure to break out at some unexpected point

[1] The chief provisions are given in the *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 381.

unless the most constant vigilance was exercised. Alexander I proposed a plan for preserving European tranquillity by the formation of a religious brotherhood of monarchs, which was given the name of "The Holy Alliance." This was accepted by the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, and published in September, 1815. In this singular instrument their majesties agreed to view one another as brothers and compatriots, as "delegates of Providence to govern three branches of the same family." All the other European powers which recognized the sacred principles of the act were to be welcomed cordially and affectionately into this "holy alliance."[1]

The Holy Alliance not a union to prevent revolution

The Tsar and Frederick William took the alliance seriously, but to most of the diplomats who had participated in the scramble for the spoils at Vienna, and who looked back upon the habits of monarchs in dealing with one another, it was an amusing vagary of the devout Tsar. It was not, as has often been supposed, a conspiracy of despotic monarchs to repress all liberal movements. It contained no definite allusions to the dangers of revolution or to the necessity of maintaining the settlement of Vienna. The name "Holy Alliance" came nevertheless to be applied by the more liberal newspapers and reformers to a real and effective organization of the powers opposed to change. In this case the monarchs did not unite in "the name of the Most High" to promote Christian charity, but frankly combined to fight reform under the worldly guidance of Clement Wencelaus Nepomuk Lothaire, Prince of Metternich-Winneburg-Ochsenhausen.

Metternich's political creed

Metternich, who was destined to succeed Napoleon as the most conspicuous statesman in Europe, was born in 1773 and had followed the course of the French Revolution from the beginning, with hatred and alarm. All talk about constitutions and national unity was to him revolutionary, and therefore highly dangerous.[2]

[1] See the text of this interesting document in the *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 384.

[2] For Metternich's views on politics, see *Readings*, Vol. I, p. 386.

Any development of the spirit of nationality dangerous to Austria

He was doubtless much strengthened in his hostility to reform by the situation of Austria, whose affairs he had been guiding since 1809. No country, except Prussia, had suffered more from the Revolution, which it had been the first to oppose in 1792. Should the idea of nationality gain ground, the various peoples included in the Austrian Empire — Germans, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and the rest — would surely revolt and each demand its own constitution. Liberal ideas, whether in Austria, Italy, or Germany, foreboded the destruction of the highly artificial Austrian realms, which had been accumulated through the centuries by conquest, marriage, and inheritance, without regard to the great differences between the races which were gathered together under the scepter of Francis I. Consequently, to Metternich the preservation of Austria, the suppression of reformers and of agitators for constitutional government, and "the tranquillity of Europe," all meant one and the same thing.

Secret alliance of November 20, 1815

On November 20, 1815, Austria, Prussia, England, and Russia entered a secret agreement to keep peace in Europe. In order to effect their ends the powers agreed to hold periodical meetings with a view to considering their common interests and taking such measures as might be expedient for the preservation of general order. Thus a sort of international congress was established for the purpose of upholding the settlement of Vienna.

Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818

The first formal meeting of the powers under this agreement took place at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, to arrange for the evacuation of France by the troops of the allies, which had been stationed there since 1814 to suppress any possible disorder. France, once more admitted to the brotherhood of nations, joined Metternich's conservative league, and that judicious statesman could report with complacency that the whole conference was a brilliant triumph for those principles which he held dearest.

A glance at the map of Europe to-day will make plain that the Congress of Vienna failed to fix forever the metes and bounds,

and the system of government, of the European countries. Metternich's flimsy union of German states has given way to the German Empire. Prussia, Austria's old rival, has evidently grown at the expense of its neighbors, as several of the lesser German states of 1815 — Hanover, Nassau, and Hesse-Cassel — no longer appear on the map, and Schleswig-Holstein, which then belonged to Denmark, is now Prussian. It will be noted that the present German Empire does not include any part of the Austrian countries, as did the confederation of 1815, and that, on the other hand, Prussia is its dominant member. The kingdom of Poland has become an integral part of the Russian dominions. Austria, excluded from the German union, has entered into a dual union with Hungary, in which the two countries are placed upon a footing of equality.

Main changes in the map of Europe since the Congress of Vienna

There was no kingdom in Italy in 1815. Now Austria has lost all hold on Lombardy and Venetia, and all the little Italian states reëstablished by the Congress of Vienna, including the Papal States, have disappeared. A new kingdom, Belgium, has been created out of the old Austrian Netherlands which the Congress gave to the king of Holland. France, now a republic again, has recovered Savoy but has lost all her possessions on the Rhine by the cession of Alsace and Lorraine to the German Empire. Lastly, Turkey in Europe has nearly disappeared, and several new states — Greece, Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria — have appeared in southeastern Europe.

Even more important, for the common people, than the changes in the map has been the revolution in the governments, laws, and industries of the several countries. Everywhere except in Russia absolute monarchies have been supplanted by some form of constitutional government, more or less democratic. Workingmen and peasants, who were generally excluded from the right to vote in 1815, have now been enfranchised in western Europe. The industrial revolution, brought about by the steam engine, machinery, and railways, has changed all of the old ways of living, traveling, and working. Laws and

Changes in governments and industries

policies which were utterly abhorrent to Metternich and his fellow-statesmen are now accepted commonplaces throughout Europe.

It is the purpose of the following chapters to show how the great changes indicated on the map took place, and to explain the accompanying internal changes, in so far as they represent the general trend of modern development, or have an importance for Europe at large.

REFERENCES

The Congress of Vienna: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xix, pp. 576–588; FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 380–382; SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 2–3; ANDREWS, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 90–93; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 1–22.

The Polish-Saxon Controversy: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xix, pp. 593–599; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 93–97; FYFFE, pp. 381–387.

The Territorial Settlement in Italy: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xix, pp. 601–604.

The Final Act of the Vienna Congress: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xxi, pp. 646–663.

Union among the Powers to maintain the Vienna Settlement: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xxi, pp. 663–671; FYFFE, pp. 408–411.

CHAPTER XI

EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The Restoration in France and the Revolution of 1830

34. When, in 1792, the Austrian and Prussian armies had advanced toward Paris with the object of freeing Louis XVI from the restrictions placed upon him by the National Assembly, the French, roused to fury, had deposed and executed their ruler, who was convicted of plotting with foreign powers to maintain his authority. In 1814 the allies placed on the throne the brother of Louis XVI, a veteran émigré, who had openly derided the Revolution and had been intriguing with other European powers for nearly twenty years to gain the French crown. Yet there was no organized opposition to the new king. The French were still monarchical at heart.

The French do not oppose the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814

There was, however, no danger that Louis XVIII would undo the great work of the Revolution and of Napoleon. He was no fanatic like his younger brother, the count of Artois. In his youth he had delighted in Voltaire and the writings of the philosophers; he had little sympathy for the Church party. His sixty years, his corpulence, his gout, and a saving sense of humor prevented him from undertaking any wild schemes for restoring the old régime which might be suggested to him by the emigrant nobles, who now returned to France in great numbers.

Louis XVIII is not tempted to undo the work of Napoleon and the Revolution

The Constitutional Charter which he issued in June, 1814, was indeed a much more liberal form of government than that which Napoleon had permitted the French to enjoy, and suggested in some ways the English constitution.[1] The power of

The Constitutional Charter granted to France by Louis XVIII, June, 1814

[1] The leading provisions of the Charter are to be found in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 2.

making laws was vested in the king and a parliament consisting of two chambers, — a house of peers chosen by the king, and a chamber of deputies elected by the wealthier citizens. The king alone could propose laws, but the chambers were empowered to petition the sovereign to lay before them any specific measure which they thought desirable.

Some of the "Rights of Man" guaranteed by the charter

In addition to establishing representative government, the Charter guaranteed almost all the great principles of reform laid down in the first Declaration of the Rights of Man. It proclaimed that all men were equal before the law and equally eligible to offices in the government and the army; taxation was to be apportioned according to the wealth of each citizen; personal and religious liberty was assured, although the Roman Catholic faith was to be the religion of the State; freedom of the press was guaranteed, but subject to such laws as might be passed for the purpose of checking the abuses of that freedom.

The origin of parties

In view of what France had suffered it might have been supposed that the moderation of the restored monarch and his enlightened measures would have pacified the distracted kingdom; but the granting of a constitution could not bring back that quiet submission to the royal will which had existed in the days of Louis XV. The interest of the people in public questions had been aroused by the Revolution, and quite naturally they differed among themselves on current issues, such as the amount of power the king should really be permitted to exercise, the extension of the right to vote to the poorer classes, the authority of the clergy, the position of the ancient nobility, and the like. In this way political parties developed.

The ultra-royalists led by the count of Artois

The reactionary group, known as the ultra-royalists, was composed largely of emigrant nobles and clergy, who wished to undo the work of the past twenty-five years and to restore the old régime in its entirety. They clamored for greater power for the clergy, for the restriction of the liberal press, for the king's absolute control over his ministers, and for the restoration of the property that they had lost during the Revolution. This party,

though small in numbers, was composed of zealots, and with the king's brother, the count of Artois, at their head, they constituted an active and influential minority.

The most valuable and effective support for the king, however, came from a more moderate group of royalists who had learned something during the last quarter of a century. They knew that the age of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette could not return, and consequently they urged the faithful observance of the Charter, and sought, on the one hand, to induce the reactionary nobility and clergy to accept the results of the Revolution, and, on the other hand, to reconcile the people to the restored monarchy. The two royalist parties — extreme and moderate — doubtless made up the greater portion of the nation. The moderate royalists

A third party was composed of liberals, who, though loyal to the king, did not regard the Charter as containing the last word on French liberties. They favored a reduction of the amount of property which a man was required to own in order to vote, and they maintained that the king should be guided by ministers responsible to the chambers. The liberals

Finally, there was a large group of persons who were irreconcilable enemies of the Bourbons and everything savoring of Bourbonism. Among them were the Bonapartists, soldiers of Napoleon, who remembered the glories of Austerlitz and Wagram and were angered by the prestige suddenly given to hundreds of Frenchmen who had borne arms against their country, but who now crowded around the king to receive offices, rewards, and honors.[1] While Napoleon lived they longed for his return, and after his death in 1821, they placed their hopes upon his youthful son,[2] "Napoleon II," as they called him. The irreconcilables. The Bonapartists

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 6.

[2] The son of Napoleon and Maria Louisa, born in 1811, to whom his father gave the title King of Rome, was taken to Vienna after Napoleon's overthrow, and given the title of Duke of Reichstadt. He lived at his grandfather's court until his death in 1832, and is the hero of Rostand's popular drama, *L'Aiglon* (The Eaglet).

The republicans

On the other hand, there were the republicans, who detested Bonapartism no less than Bourbonism and wished to restore the republic of 1792.

Views of Charles X (1824–1830)

As long as Louis XVIII lived, the party loyal to him grew stronger, and at the time of his death in 1824 the restored Bourbon line seemed to have triumphed completely over its enemies. Had his brother, who succeeded him as Charles X, been equally wise, he too might have retained the throne until his death. But he frankly declared that he would rather chop wood than be king on the same terms as the king of England. During the early years of his reign the clergy and Jesuits exercised a great deal of influence upon the policy of the government, and the nobles, who had been deprived of their lands during the Revolution, were granted a thousand million francs by way of indemnity.

The July ordinances, July 25, 1830

As might have been anticipated, Charles's policy aroused violent antagonism. But he did not heed the warnings, and in July, 1830, determined upon a bold stroke. Acting under a provision of the Charter which empowered him to make regulations for the security of the realm, he and his ministers issued a series of ordinances establishing press censorship, increasing the property qualifications for voters, and confining the initiation of laws to the king.[1] These ordinances practically destroyed the last vestiges of constitutional government and left the French people without any guarantee against absolutism.

The protests of the journalists

The day following the promulgation of the ordinances, July 26, 1830, the Paris journalists published a protest, which became the signal for open resistance to the king. They declared that they would issue their papers in spite of the king, and that all citizens were absolved from their allegiance by this attack on their rights.

The republicans start an insurrection in Paris, July 27

The revolt, however, which brought about the overthrow of Charles X was the work of the fearless though small republican party which faithfully cherished the traditions of 1792. On July 27 they began tearing up the paving stones for barricades,

[1] See the ordinance against the press, in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 11.

behind which they could defend themselves in the narrow streets against the police and soldiers.

A new candidate for the throne appears

On July 29 the entire city of Paris was in the hands of the insurgents. The king, now realizing the seriousness of the situation, opened negotiations with the deputies and promised to repeal the obnoxious ordinances. It was, however, too late for concessions; a faction of wealthy bankers and business men was busily engaged in an intrigue to place upon the throne Louis Philippe, the son of that duke of Orleans who had supported the popular cause in the early days of the first revolution and had finally been executed as a "suspect" during the Reign of Terror. The son had been identified with the Jacobins and had fought in the army of the republic at Valmy and Jemappes. He was later exiled, and spent some time in England. When he returned to France after the restoration he sought popular favor by professing democratic opinions, affecting the airs of a plain citizen, and sending his children to ordinary schools instead of employing private tutors. He was therefore the logical candidate of those who wished to preserve the monarchy and yet establish the middle class in power in place of the nobles and clergy.

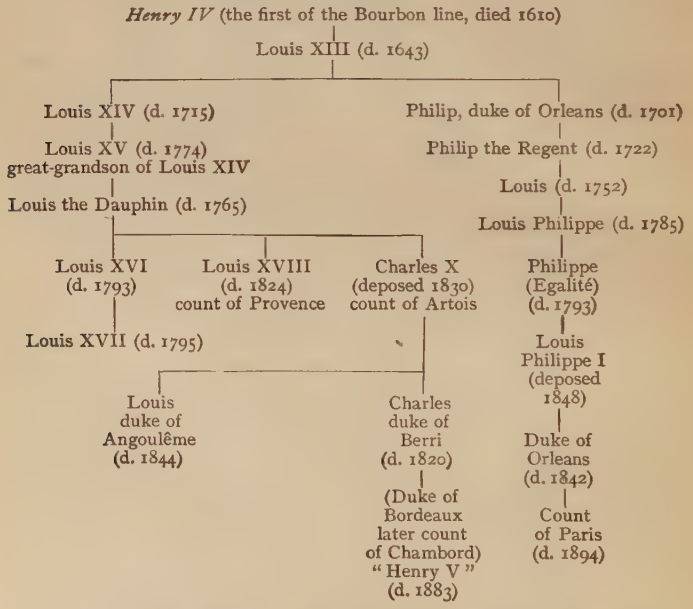
Charles X abdicates; Louis Philippe appointed lieutenant general

Charles X, despairing of his ability to retain the crown for himself, abdicated in favor of his grandson, the duke of Bordeaux. He then charged Louis Philippe with the task of proclaiming the young duke as King Henry V, and fled with his family to England. Though this arrangement might very well have met the approval of the nation at large, Louis Philippe was not inclined to execute the order of Charles X. On the contrary, he began to seek the favor of the republicans who had done the actual fighting and had already formed a provisional government with the aged Lafayette at its head.

This committee occupied the City Hall and was surrounded by the insurgents who supported it. Louis Philippe forced his way through the throng and, in a conference with Lafayette, won him over to his cause by fair promises. The two men then went out on the balcony and Lafayette embraced his companion before

the crowd as a sign of their good understanding, while the duke on his part showed his sympathy for liberal doctrines by waving the tricolored flag, — the banner of the Revolution, — which had not been unfurled in Paris since the last days of Napoleon. The hopes of the republicans who had borne the brunt of the Revolution were now at an end, for they realized that they formed too small a party to prevent Louis Philippe's accession to the throne.

THE BOURBON KINGS


Henry IV (the first of the Bourbon line, died 1610)
Louis XIII (d. 1643)
Louis XIV (d. 1715)
Philip, duke of Orleans (d. 1701)
Louis XV (d. 1774)
great-grandson of Louis XIV
Philip the Regent (d. 1722)
Louis the Dauphin (d. 1765)
Louis (d. 1752)
Louis Philippe (d. 1785)
Louis XVI (d. 1793)
Louis XVIII (d. 1824) count of Provence
Charles X (deposed 1830) count of Artois
Philippe (Egalité) (d. 1793)
Louis XVII (d. 1795)
Louis Philippe I (deposed 1848)
Louis duke of Angoulême (d. 1844)
Charles duke of Berri (d. 1820)
Duke of Orleans (d. 1842)
(Duke of Bordeaux later count of Chambord) "Henry V" (d. 1883)
Count of Paris (d. 1894)

The Chamber of Deputies calls Louis Philippe to the throne

Louis Philippe convoked the Chamber of Deputies on August 3 and announced the abdication of Charles X, carefully omitting any allusion to the fact that the dethroned king had indicated his grandson as his successor. Four days later the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution — which was ratified by the Chamber of Peers — calling Louis Philippe to the throne as

king of the French; he accepted their invitation, declaring that "he could not resist the call of his country."

The Charter is revised

The parliament undertook to make the necessary changes in the existing Charter which Louis XVIII had granted, and required the new king to accept it before his coronation. The preamble of the Charter was suppressed because it wounded "national dignity in appearing to *grant* to Frenchmen the rights which essentially belonged to them." The clause under which the July ordinances were issued was altered so that the king had no power to suspend the laws. Freedom of the press and the responsibility of the ministers to the Legislative Assembly were expressly proclaimed. Lastly, the provision establishing the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the State was stricken out.

The slight results of the revolution

In reality, however, the Revolution of 1830 made few innovations. One king had been exchanged for another who professed more liberal views, but the government was no more democratic than before. The right to vote was still limited to the few wealthy taxpayers, and government by clergy and nobility had given place to government by bankers, speculators, manufacturers, and merchants. The tricolored flag of the Revolution was adopted as the national flag, instead of the white banner of the Bourbons, but France was still a monarchy, and the labors of the republicans in organizing the insurrection had gone for naught.

Establishment of the Kingdom of Belgium

Grievance of the Belgians against the Dutch government

35. The Revolution of 1830 in France was the signal for an outbreak in the former Austrian Netherlands, where many grievances had developed since the Congress of Vienna united the region with the Dutch Netherlands under the rule of William of Orange. In the first place, the inhabitants of his southern provinces were dissatisfied with William's government. He had granted a constitution to his entire kingdom on the model of the French Charter, but many people objected to his making the

ministers responsible to himself instead of to the parliament, and also to the restricted suffrage which excluded all but the well-to-do from the right to vote. Although the southern provinces had over a million more inhabitants than the Dutch portion of the kingdom, they had only an equal number of representatives. Moreover the Dutch monopolized most of the offices and conducted the government in their own interests. There were religious difficulties too. The southern provinces were Catholic, the northern mainly Protestant. The king was a Protestant, and took advantage of his position to convert Catholics to his own faith.[1]

Religious dissensions arise between Protestants and Catholics

The independent kingdom of Belgium is established

Louis Philippe had been seated on his throne only a few days when the agitation over these grievances broke out into open revolt at Brussels. The revolution spread; a provisional government was set up; and on October 4, 1830, it declared: "The province of Belgium, detached from Holland by force, shall constitute an independent state." The declaration was soon followed by the meeting of a congress to establish a permanent form of government. This assembly drew up a constitution based on the idea of the sovereignty of the people, and decided that the head of the new government should be a king constrained by oath to observe the laws adopted by the people. The Belgians were therefore very much in the same position as the English in 1688 when they made William of Orange their king on their own terms. They finally chose as their sovereign Leopold of Coburg, and in July, 1831, he was crowned king of the new state.[2]

[1] For the Belgians' statement of their grievances, see *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 14.

[2] The constitution which the Belgians drew up for themselves in 1831, with some modifications, is the basis of their government to-day, and Leopold II, the son of their first king, Leopold I, was their sovereign until 1909, when he was succeeded by his nephew, King Albert. The loss of Belgium made no important change in the government of the Netherlands. In 1848 King William II was forced to grant his subjects a new and enlightened constitution in place of the charter which he had issued some thirty years before. On the death of William III in 1890 his daughter, Wilhelmina, came to the throne, and as the grand duchy of Luxemburg was hereditary only in the male line it passed to a relative of the deceased king, the duke of Nassau. See Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 238–255.

Formation of the German Confederation

36. The chief effects of the Napoleonic occupation of Germany were three in number. First, the consolidation of territory that followed the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France, as explained previously, had done away with the ecclesiastical states, the territories of the knights, and most of the free towns. Only thirty-eight German states, including four free towns, were left when the Congress of Vienna took up the question of forming a confederation to replace the defunct Holy Roman Empire.[1]

Three chief results of Napoleon's influence in Germany

1. Disappearance of most of the little states

Secondly, the external and internal conditions of Prussia had been so changed as to open the way for it to replace Austria as the controlling power in Germany. A great part of the Slavic possessions gained in the last two partitions of Poland had been lost, but as an indemnity Prussia had received half of the kingdom of Saxony, in the very center of Germany, and also the Rhine provinces, where the people were thoroughly imbued with the revolutionary doctrines that had prevailed in France. Prussia now embraced all the various types of people included in the German nation and was comparatively free from the presence of non-German races. In this respect it offered a marked contrast to the heterogeneous and mongrel population of its great rival, Austria.

2. Advantageous position of Prussia

The internal changes in Prussia were no less remarkable. The reforms carried out after Jena by the distinguished minister Stein and his successor, Hardenberg, had done for Prussia somewhat the same service that the first National Assembly had done for France. The abolition of the feudal social castes and the liberation of the serfs made the economic development of the country possible. The reorganization of the whole military system prepared the way for Prussia's great victories in 1866 and 1870, which led to the formation of a new German Empire under her headship.

[1] The leading provisions of the Act of Confederation are given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 16 ff.

3. Demand for constitutional government

Thirdly, the agitations of the Napoleonic period had aroused the national spirit.[1] The appeal to the people to aid in freeing their country from foreign oppression, and the idea of their participation in a government based upon a written constitution, had produced widespread discontent with the old absolute monarchy.

The German Confederation of 1815

When the form of union for the German states came up for discussion at the Congress of Vienna, two different plans were advocated. Prussia's representatives submitted a scheme for a firm union, in some respects like that of the United States, in which the central government should control the individual states in all matters of general interest. This idea was successfully opposed by Metternich, supported by the other German rulers. Austria realized that her possessions, as a whole, could never be included in any real German union, for even in the western portion of her territory there were many Slavs, while in Hungary and the southern provinces there were practically no Germans at all. On the other hand, she felt that she might be the leader in a very loose union in which all the members should be left practically independent. Her ideal of a union of sovereign princes under her own headship was almost completely realized in the constitution adopted.

The German Confederation a union of rulers and free towns

The confederation was not a union of the various *countries* involved, but of "The Sovereign Princes and Free Towns of Germany," including the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia for such of their possessions as were formerly included in the German Empire; the king of Denmark for Holstein; and the king of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxemburg. The union thus included two sovereigns who were out-and-out foreigners, and, on the other hand, did not include all the possessions of its two most important members.[2]

The insignificant diet at Frankfort

The assembly of the confederation was a diet which met at Frankfort. It was composed (as was perfectly logical) not of

[1] See above, p. 235.

[2] Observe the boundary of the German Confederation as indicated on the map, pp. 232–233.

representatives of the people, but of plenipotentiaries of the rulers who were members of the confederation. The diet had very slight powers, for it could not interfere in the domestic affairs of the states, and the delegates who composed it could not vote as they pleased, since they had to obey the instructions of the rulers who appointed them, and refer all important questions to their respective sovereigns. So powerless and so dilatory was this assembly that it became the laughingstock of Europe.

Weakness of the German union

The members of the confederation reserved to themselves the right of forming alliances of all kinds, but pledged themselves to make no agreement prejudicial to the safety of the union or of any of its members, and not to make war upon any member of the confederation on any pretense whatsoever. The constitution could not be amended without the approval of *all* the governments concerned. In spite of its obvious weaknesses, the confederation of 1815 lasted for half a century, until Prussia finally expelled Austria from the union by arms, and began the formation of the present German federation.

Political associations of German students

The liberal and progressive party in Germany was sadly disappointed by the failure of the Congress of Vienna to weld Germany into a really national state. The university students denounced the reactionary party in their meetings, and drank to the freedom of Germany. On October 18, 1817, they held a celebration in the Wartburg to commemorate both Luther's revolt and the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. Speeches were made in honor of the brave who had fallen in the war of independence, and of the grand duke of Weimar, who was the first of the North German princes to give his people a constitution.

The murder of Kotzebue

This innocent burst of enthusiasm excited great apprehension in the minds of the conservative statesmen of Europe, of whom Metternich was, of course, the leader. The murder by Sand, a fanatical student, of a journalist, Kotzebue, who was supposed to have influenced the Tsar to desert his former

liberal policy, cast further discredit upon the liberal party. It also gave Metternich an opportunity to emphasize the terrible results which he anticipated would come from the students' associations, liberal governments, and the freedom of the press.

The "Carlsbad Resolutions," 1819

Metternich called together the representatives of the larger states of the confederation at Carlsbad in August, 1819. Here a series of resolutions were drawn up with the aim of checking the free expression of opinions in newspapers and universities hostile to existing institutions, and of discovering and bringing to justice the revolutionists who were supposed to exist in dangerous numbers. These "Carlsbad Resolutions" were laid before the diet of the confederation by Austria and adopted, though not without protest.[1]

The attack upon the freedom of the press, and especially the interference with the liberty of teaching in the great institutions of learning which were already becoming the home of the highest scholarship in the world, scandalized all the progressive spirits in Germany; yet no successful protest was raised, and Germany as a whole acquiesced for a generation in Metternich's system of discouraging reform of all kinds.

The southern German states receive constitutions, 1818–1820

Nevertheless, important progress was made in southern Germany. As early as 1818 the king of Bavaria granted his people a constitution in which he stated their rights and admitted them to a share in the government by establishing a parliament. His example was followed within two years by the rulers of Baden, Würtemberg, and Hesse. Another change for the better was the gradual formation of a customs union, which permitted goods to be sent freely from one German state to another without the payment of duties at each boundary line. This yielded some of the advantages of a political union. This economic confederation, of which Prussia was the head and from which Austria was excluded, was a harbinger of the future German Empire.

Formation of a customs union — *Zollverein* — with Prussia at its head

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 20, for the "Carlsbad Resolutions."

Restoration in Spain and Italy

37. The restoration in Spain after Napoleon's downfall was more thoroughgoing than in any other country involved in the revolutionary conflicts. Napoleon's efforts to keep his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne had led to a war which brought misery and demoralization upon the country until the autumn of 1812, when Wellington drove the invaders beyond the Pyrenees. During this entire period the Spanish people steadily resisted French dominion and maintained the semblance of an independent government.

State of Spain under Joseph Bonaparte

The Cortes or parliament was loyal to the dethroned Bourbon, Ferdinand VII, but it took advantage of his absence to draw up a liberal constitution in 1812.

When Ferdinand VII (who had spent the previous six years in France surrounded by Napoleon's guards) was, in 1814, restored to power by the strength of English arms, he repudiated entirely this liberal government. He declared that the Cortes which had drawn up this instrument had usurped his rights by imposing on his people "an anarchical and seditious constitution based on the democratic principles of the French Revolution." He accordingly annulled it and proclaimed those who continued to support it guilty of high treason and worthy of death.[1] With the old absolute government, he restored the Inquisition, feudal privileges, and the religious orders. The Jesuits returned, the press was strictly censored, free speech repressed, monastic property returned to the former owners, and the liberals were imprisoned in large numbers or executed.

Ferdinand VII abolishes the constitution

The Congress of Vienna left Italy, as Metternich observed, merely "a geographical expression"; it had no political unity whatever. Lombardy and Venetia, in the northern part, were in the hands of Austria, while Parma, Modena, and Tuscany belonged to members of the Austrian family. In the south the considerable kingdom of Naples was ruled over by a branch of

Italy only "a geographical expression" after 1815

[1] This manifesto is printed in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 23.

the Spanish Bourbons. In the center, cutting the peninsula in twain, were the Papal States, which extended north to the Po. The presence of Austria, and the apparent impossibility of inducing the Pope to submit to any government but his own, seemed to preclude all hope of making Italy into a true nation.

Reforms introduced in Italy during the Napoleonic occupation

Although Napoleon had governed Italy despotically, he had introduced many important reforms. The vestiges of the feudal régime had vanished at his approach; he had established an orderly administration and had forwarded public improvements. But his unscrupulous use of Italy to advance his personal ambitions disappointed those who at first had received him with enthusiasm, and they came to look eagerly for his downfall.

Abolition of reforms in Piedmont

The king of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel I, entered his capital of Turin on May 20, 1814, amid great rejoicing, but immediately proceeded to destroy with a stroke of his pen all the reforms which the Revolution had accomplished in Piedmont during his absence. He gave back to the nobility their ancient feudal rights; he restored to the clergy their property, their courts, and their press censorship; religious freedom was suppressed.

The clergy return to power in the Papal States

The same policy was adopted in the States of the Church, where, in 1814, an edict was issued which swept away French legislation and restored the old order. In the zeal to destroy the work of the French, root and branch, vaccination and street lighting at Rome were abolished as revolutionary innovations.

The Austrian possessions in Italy

In Lombardy and Venetia, where Austrian sovereignty was established, the reforms instituted during the Napoleonic Period were practically nullified. In order to fasten securely their government on these provinces, the Austrians set up a public and secret police system, which constantly interfered with individual liberty in the most arbitrary fashion.

Austrian influence in Italy

In addition to his Lombardo-Venetian kingdom in the northern part of Italy, the Austrian emperor enjoyed a protectorate over Modena; by treaty the duke of Tuscany practically surrendered his duchy to him; Maria Louisa of Parma turned the administration of her domain over to his officers; and Ferdinand

of Naples was bound to him in a defensive and offensive alliance. In short, only Sardinia and the Papal States retained their freedom from "German" domination.

The work of the French not entirely undone

Though dismembered and subjected to a foreign yoke, the Italy of 1815 was not the Italy which Napoleon had found when he first entered it at the head of the French army in 1796. Despite the restoration, traces of the Revolution were everywhere apparent, not only in law and government but, above all, in the minds of men. National aspirations had been awakened which the Austrian police could not stamp out; Italians, high and low, came to know and appreciate French reforms at first-hand, though they might loathe the memory of Napoleon as a conqueror and a tyrant.

The Spanish-American Colonies and the Revolution of 1820

38. The very thoroughness with which Metternich's ideas were carried out in the Mediterranean states led to renewed attempts on the part of the liberals to abolish despotism. It was not, therefore, in Germany or France, as the allies had feared, but in Spain and then in Italy, that the spirit of revolution was first to reawaken.

The Spanish colonies in North and South America begin to dream of independence

Spain itself was, of course, but a small part of the vast Spanish empire, which included Mexico (and the regions to the northwest later acquired by the United States), Central America, and large portions of South America, besides her island possessions. The Spanish colonies had from the first been the victims of the selfish commercial policy of the mother country, which forced them to carry on all their trade with one or two favored Spanish ports. The enlightened despot, Charles III, had somewhat reduced the restrictions upon trade; as a result, the commerce of the Spanish dependencies increased nearly sevenfold from 1778 to 1788. The advantages of greater freedom and the success of the North American colonies in

throwing off the yoke of England both served to suggest ideas of independence; these suddenly developed into downright revolt when the news reached the colonies that Napoleon had placed his brother on the Spanish throne and proposed to control the Spanish commerce in his own interests.

Revolt of the Spanish colonies, 1810–1825

Beginning in 1810, the colonies of Mexico, New Granada (now Colombia), Venezuela, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and Chile, while they still professed to be loyal to Ferdinand VII, took their government into their own hands, drove out the former Spanish agents, and finally rejected Spanish rule altogether. At first the revolt was put down with great cruelty, but in 1817, under the leadership of Bolivar, Venezuela won its independence, and during the following five years the Spaniards lost New Granada, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Mexico, and lastly (1825) Upper Peru, which was renamed Bolivia after its liberator.

England opposes reconquest of the Spanish colonies

Ever since his restoration Ferdinand VII had been sending thousands of men to die of fever and wounds in the vain attempt to subdue the insurgents. He had called upon the other powers to help him, on the ground that his colonies were guilty of the revolutionary crimes which it was to the interest of all the allied monarchs to aid in suppressing. He was disappointed however.

Restoration of the constitution of 1812 in Spain, 1820

At last, in January, 1820, the soldiers who were waiting in Cadiz to be sent to America, well aware of the sufferings of the regiments which had preceded them, were easily aroused to revolt by two adventurous officers. The revolutionists proclaimed the restoration of the constitution of 1812, which Ferdinand had abolished on his return. Their call was answered by the liberals in the larger towns, including Madrid, where a mob surrounded the palace (March 9), and forced the king to take the oath to the constitution.

News of Spanish revolution reaches Italy

News of the Spanish revolt spread quickly throughout Italy, where the spirit of insurrection had been at work among the secret societies which had everywhere been organized. By far the most noted of these was that of the Carbonari, i.e. charcoal

burners. Its objects were constitutional government and national independence and unity. When the Neapolitans heard that the king of Spain had been forced by an insurrection to accept a constitution, they made the first attempt on the part of the Italian people to gain constitutional liberty by compelling their king (July, 1820) to agree to accept this same Spanish constitution of 1812. The king, however, at once began to cast about for foreign assistance to suppress the revolution and enable him to return to his former ways.

Metternich regards revolution as a terrible disease

He had not long to wait. The alert Metternich invited Russia, Prussia, France, and England to unite, in order to check the development of "revolt and crime." "Revolution" appeared to him and his sympathizers as a fearful disease that not only destroyed those whom it attacked directly, but spread contagion wherever it appeared. Therefore prompt and severe measures of quarantine were justified, in view of the necessity of stamping out the devastating plague.

The Laibach conference and Austrian intervention in Italy

A conference was called at Laibach in January, 1821, for the purpose of taking practical measures to restore absolutism in southern Italy. To this conference King Ferdinand of Naples was summoned. After taking renewed oaths to maintain the constitution which he had granted his people, he started northward, but on the way to Laibach he repudiated his promises to his subjects, and at the conference heartily concurred in the plan to send an Austrian army to Naples to abolish the noxious constitution. The leaders of the revolt were executed, imprisoned, or exiled, and the king freed from the embarrassments of the constitution.

The Congress of Verona, 1822

Meanwhile the revolution in Spain had developed into a civil war, and the representatives of the great powers, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and England, met at Verona in 1822 to discuss their common interests and decide what should be done about the Spanish crisis.[1] England refused to interfere in any way; so finally it was left to Louis XVIII, urged on by the clerical

[1] For the declaration of the powers at Verona, see *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 38.

France aids Ferdinand VII to suppress reform, 1823–1825

and ultra-royalist party, to send an army across the Pyrenees "with the purpose of maintaining a descendant of Henry IV on the throne of Spain." This interference in the affairs of a neighboring nation which was struggling for constitutional government disgusted the French liberals, who saw that France, in intervening in favor of Ferdinand VII, was doing just what Prussia and Austria had attempted in 1792 in the interests of Louis XVI. But, unlike the duke of Brunswick, the French commander easily defeated the revolutionists and placed Ferdinand in a position to stamp out his enemies in such a ferocious and bloodthirsty manner that his French allies were heartily ashamed of him.

Question of the revolted Spanish colonies

While France was helping to restore absolutism in Spain the Spanish colonies, as we have seen, were rapidly winning their independence, encouraged by the United States and England. At the Congress of Verona all the powers except England were anxious to discuss a plan by which they might aid Spain to get the better of her rebellious colonies, since it was the fixed purpose of the allies to suppress "rebellion in whatever place and under whatever form it might show itself."

The Monroe Doctrine

The threats of Metternich and his friends led President Monroe, in his message to Congress, December, 1823, to call attention to the dangers of intervention as practiced by the European alliance of great powers, and clearly state what has since become famous as the "Monroe Doctrine,"[1] namely, that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of the European allies to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States and as an unfriendly act.

England recognizes independence of some Spanish colonies

About the same time the English foreign secretary, Canning, informed the French ambassador in London that any attempt to bring the Spanish colonies again under their former submission to Spain would prove unsuccessful; and that while England

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 42, for an extract from President Monroe's famous message.

would remain neutral in the troubles between the mother country and her American dominions, the intervention of a third party would constitute cause for action on the part of the English government. Toward the close of 1824 England recognized the independence of Buenos Ayres, Mexico, and Colombia, and paid no heed to the remonstrance of the continental powers that such an action "tended to encourage the revolutionary spirit which it had been found so difficult to restrain in Europe."

Portugal

A word may be said here of Spain's little neighbor Portugal. It will be remembered that when Napoleon dispatched his troops thither in 1807 the royal family fled across the Atlantic to their colony of Brazil. After the expulsion of the French by the English, the government was placed in the hands of an English general, Beresford, who ruled so despotically that he stirred up a revolt in 1820, at the time when the insurrection in Spain was in progress. The insurgents demanded the return of the royal family from Brazil and the granting of a constitution. The king, John VI, accordingly set sail for Portugal, leaving his elder son, Pedro, to represent him in Brazil.[1]

Metternich's international police system fails

It will have become apparent that Metternich's international police system, designed to prevent innovation and revolution, was for all practical purposes a failure. The action of Great Britain and the United States had weakened it. The struggle of the Greek revolutionists against Turkey for independence,[2] which finally involved Russia in a war with the Sultan and ended in victory for the Greeks, demonstrated that even Russia would not hesitate to aid and abet revolution if she could thereby advance her own interests. The climax was reached in 1830 by the revolution in France described above, which deposed the older Bourbon line and established a liberal government, thus

[1] In 1822 Pedro proclaimed the independence of Brazil and took the title of Emperor. In 1831 he abdicated in favor of his son, who retained the crown until he was deposed by the revolution of 1889, which established the United States of Brazil as a republic.

[2] See below, p. 455.

violating the fundamental principles for which Metternich had fought with so much determination. In fact, the Holy Alliance, as such, never accomplished any great work, and it went to pieces as much through its own inherent weakness as through the growth of revolutionary spirit.

REFERENCES

The Restoration in France: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xviii, pp. 559–571; PHILLIPS, *European History, 1815–1899*, pp. 22–36; ANDREWS, *The Historical Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 134–157; FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 375–380; SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1815*, pp. 103–121; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 66–99.

The Revolution of 1830 in France: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. iii, pp. 71–103; PHILLIPS, pp. 168–185; FYFFE, pp. 603–621; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 157–179.

The Revolution of 1830 in Belgium: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. xvi, pp. 517–544; FYFFE, pp. 620–624; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 229–238; PHILLIPS, pp. 186–198.

The German Confederation and Metternich's Policy: PHILLIPS, chap. iii, pp. 37–56; SEIGNOBOS, chap. xii, pp. 374–386; ANDREWS, Vol. I, chap. vi, pp. 229–241; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. xi, pp. 340–382; HAZEN, pp. 23–44.

Reëstablishment of Absolutism in Italy: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. iv, pp. 104–130; ANDREWS, Vol. I, chap. v, pp. 180–228; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 326–333; HAZEN, pp. 45–65.

The Restoration and Revolution in Spain: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. vii, pp. 205–233; FYFFE, pp. 478–485; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 286–295.

The Spanish-American Colonies: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chaps. viii, ix, pp. 244–309.

Metternich and the European Congresses: *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. i, pp. 1–39; PHILLIPS, pp. 57–134; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 747–762.

CHAPTER XII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Invention of Machinery for Spinning and Weaving

39. In the preceding chapters we have reviewed the startling changes and reforms introduced by the leaders of the French Revolution and by Napoleon Bonaparte, the reconstruction of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, and finally the chief modifications of these arrangements which occurred during the following generation. These were mainly the work of statesmen, warriors, and diplomats, — who have certainly done their part in making Europe what it is to-day. But a still more fundamental revolution than that which has been described had begun in England before the meeting of the Estates General. The chief actors in this never stirred an assembly by their fiery denunciation of abuses, or led an army to victory, or conducted a clever diplomatic negotiation. On the contrary, their attention was concentrated upon the homely operations of everyday life, — the housewife drawing out her thread with distaff or spinning wheel, the slow work of the weaver at his primitive loom, the miner struggling against the water which threatened to flood his mine. They busied themselves perseveringly with wheels, cylinders, bands, and rollers, patiently combining and recombining them, until, after many discouragements, they made discoveries destined to alter the habits, ideas, and prospects of the great mass of the people far more profoundly than all the edicts of the National Assembly and all the conquests of Napoleon taken together.

The Industrial Revolution due to mechanical inventions

The Greeks and Romans, notwithstanding their refined civilization, had shown slight aptitude for mechanical invention,

Few new inventions added to the old stock before the eighteenth century

and little had been added to their stock of human appliances before the opening of the eighteenth century.[1] In the time of Louis XIV, when inventors were already becoming somewhat numerous, especially in England, the people of western Europe for the most part continued to till their fields, weave their cloth, and saw and plane their boards by hand, much as the ancient Egyptians had done. Merchandise was still transported in slow, lumbering carts, and letters were as long in passing from London to Rome as in the reign of Constantine. Could a peasant, a smith, or a weaver of the age of Cæsar Augustus have visited France or England eighteen hundred years later, he would have recognized the familiar flail, forge, and hand loom of his own day.

Importance of the history of mechanical inventions

Suddenly, however, a series of ingenious devices were invented, which in a few generations eclipsed the achievements of ages and revolutionized every branch of industry. These serve to explain the world in which we live, with its busy cities, its gigantic factories filled with complicated machinery, its commerce and vast fortunes, its trades unions and labor parties, its bewildering variety of plans for bettering the lot of the great mass of the people. The story of the substitution for the distaff of the marvelous spinning machine with its swiftly flying fingers, of the development of the locomotive and the ocean steamer which bind together the uttermost parts of the earth, of the perfecting press, producing a hundred thousand newspapers an hour, of the marvels of the telegraph and the telephone, — this story of mechanical invention is in no way inferior in fascination and importance to the more familiar history of kings, parliaments, wars, treaties, and constitutions.

[1] Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century (see above, p. 22), firmly believed that the lot of mankind could be greatly improved by mechanical inventions. In his century spectacles first began to be used, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gunpowder was introduced, the printing press invented, and a method discovered by which iron could be not merely softened, but melted so that it could be cast.

The revolution in manufacture during the past two centuries may perhaps be best illustrated by the improvements in the methods of spinning and weaving wool and cotton, which are so important to our welfare and comfort. The main operations had remained essentially the same from the time when men first began to substitute coarse woven garments for the skins of animals, down to the eighteenth century.

Old ways of spinning and weaving

At the opening of that century spinning was done on the old-fashioned wheel such as one may find stowed away in his great-grandmother's attic. The loom used in Louis XIV's day was so crude that it required two men to operate it, — one to push the shuttle part way through the weft, and the other to finish the stroke and start the shuttle on its return trip.

The invention of the spinning jenny

In 1738, however, there began a series of inventions which ended in the creation of automatic steam-driven machines and power looms. In that year John Kay, of Bury in Lancashire, England, invented the fly-shuttle, a contrivance which enabled the weaver, without any assistant, to drive the shuttle to and fro by means of a handle placed conveniently in front of his stool. One weaver could now do the work of two; and the spinners set about inventing a machine that would enable them to meet the new demand for thread. By 1767 James Hargreaves, a weaver of Blackburn, invented a spinning jenny which enabled a child, by turning a wheel, to spin eight or ten threads at one time, and thus do the work of eight or ten spinners.[1] A year later a barber of Preston, Richard Arkwright, patented a device for spinning by rollers, and made a large fortune — for his time — by establishing a great factory filled with power-driven machines. In 1779 Samuel Crompton, of Bolton in Lancashire, made a happy combination of Hargreaves's spinning jenny and Arkwright's roller machine, which was called the "mule." Before the end of the eighteenth century, machines spinning two hundred threads simultaneously had been invented, and as they

[1] For an account of inventions of Hargreaves, Crompton, and Cartwright, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 45–53.

were driven by power and required only one or two watchers, the hand workers could by no means compete with them.

The power loom and cotton gin

The enormous output of thread and yarn on these new machines made the weavers dissatisfied with the clumsy old hand loom. At length, in 1784, Dr. Cartwright, a clergyman of Kent, patented a new and workable loom driven by power, which automatically threw the shuttle and shifted the weft. This machine was steadily improved until by the end of the nineteenth century a single machine watched by one workman could do as much weaving in a day as two hundred weavers could do with old-fashioned hand looms. Speedily following Dr. Cartwright's invention came a number of other improvements in the methods of manufacturing cloth. The time required for the process of bleaching was reduced from several months to a few days by the use of acids, instead of relying principally upon the sunlight. In 1792 Eli Whitney, in the United States, announced the invention of a power "gin," which enabled one man to clean over a thousand pounds of cotton a day instead of five or six pounds, which had been the limit for the hand worker.

The effect of these inventions in increasing the amount of cloth manufactured was astonishing. In 1764 England imported only about four million pounds of raw cotton, but by 1841 she was using nearly five hundred million pounds annually. At the close of the Napoleonic wars Robert Owen, a distinguished manufacturer and philanthropist, declared that his two thousand workmen at New Lanarck could do as much work with the new machinery which had been invented during the past forty years as all the operators of Scotland could do without it.

The Steam Engine

40. In order that inventions could further develop and become widely useful, two things were necessary: In the first place, there must be available a sufficiently strong material

out of which to construct the machinery, and for this purpose iron and steel have, with few exceptions, proved the most satisfactory. In the second place, some adequate power had to be found to propel the machinery, which is ordinarily too heavy to be run by hand or foot. Of course windmills were common, and waterfalls and running streams had long been used to turn water wheels, but these forces were too restricted and uncertain to suffice for the rapid development of machinery which resulted from the beginnings we have described. Consequently while Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton were successfully solving the problem of new methods of spinning and weaving, other inventors were endeavoring to supply the material for making the machinery and to discover an adequate power to run it.

Iron and power necessary for the development of machinery

Iron and steel had, of course, been used for hundreds and even thousands of years for tools, weapons, and armor; and the expansive power of steam was known before the opening of the Christian era, but had not been put to any useful purpose. So, although the eighteenth-century inventors could base their new devices upon older discoveries, they were forced to find some means for greatly cheapening the production of iron and steel, and for applying steam to everyday uses.

Expansive power of steam observed by the ancients

Contrary to popular impression, James Watt did not invent the steam engine.[1] Important parts of the engine — the boiler, cylinder, and the piston — had been invented before he was born, and crude engines had been employed for a long time in pumping water. Indeed, Watt's interest in the steam engine seems to have been awakened first during the winter of 1763–1764, when, as an instrument maker in the University of Glasgow, he was called upon to repair the model of a steam engine which had been invented by an ingenious mechanic named Newcomen. Watt, however, was a brilliant and industrious experimenter, and building upon the work of Newcomen

Watt improves the steam engine

[1] For a brief account of the life and works of Watt, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 58–62.

and other men, he was able to make the steam engine a practical and relatively economical machine for furnishing power to the new factories. By a simple arrangement of a rod and crank he made it possible to drive a wheel which could be connected by a belt and furnish rotary motion. In 1785 the steam engine was first applied to run spinning machinery at a factory at Pappelwick in Nottinghamshire. Arkwright adopted it in 1790, and by the end of the century steam engines were as common as wind and water mills.

Older method of working iron

These inventions reacted powerfully on the iron industry, which had hitherto been relatively insignificant. The importance of this metal can scarcely be overestimated. Its qualities of durability, malleability, and strength, and the manifold uses to which it can be adapted make it the very foundation of all mechanical industry. Though it had been in use for ages before the day of Arkwright and Watt, it was still worked up in the crudest fashion. A huge pair of bellows, operated by hand or water power, was used to supply the blast required to melt the metal for casting; charcoal made from wood was used for fuel in the smelting furnace; and the metal was hammered out either by hand or by heavy iron blocks fixed on the ends of levers worked up and down by horse or water power.

Smelting with coal; new methods of working and handling iron

When the manufacturers of the new spinning machines began to demand more and better iron, the smiths at their forges turned their attention to the improvement of their crude tools. About 1750 the process of smelting by coal became available, and at once led to a rapid development of the industry. Ten years later the bellows were supplanted by Smeaton's cylinder blowing apparatus, and in 1790 the advantage of a steady and continuous blast was secured by the adoption of steam as a motor force. About the same time a great improvement was made in the machinery for handling heavy castings, and in the methods of changing cast or brittle iron into wrought or malleable iron.

Now it so happened that the Industrial Revolution took place first in England, for conditions there were peculiarly favorable

The Industrial Revolution in France

to the development of the peaceful arts of industry. Although England was the first country to develop the modern industrial system, it was impossible for her to prevent the gradual introduction of new inventions on the Continent. Napoleon had endeavored to foster and protect French industries and stimulate the employment of machinery in manufacturing; but in spite of his best efforts, French industry remained in a backward state. It was not until after the establishment of peace in 1815 that the Industrial Revolution really began in France. On the eve of Napoleon's downfall there was only one small steam engine employed in French industry — at a cotton factory in Alsace; but by 1847 France had nearly five thousand steam engines with a capacity of sixty thousand horse power. The consumption of raw cotton was multiplied fivefold in thirty years, and in 1847 there were over one hundred thousand spinning machines with three and a half million spindles at work. During this period a corresponding development took place in the other staple branches of French manufacturing. On the eve of the revolution of 1848 France had many important manufacturing centers. Paris alone had three hundred and forty-two thousand working people, and other cities, such as Lyons, Marseilles, Lille, Bordeaux, and Toulouse, had their great factories and whole quarters peopled by factory laborers. And the working class had begun by that time to form unions and organize strikes against their employers for the purpose of increasing wages and reducing the hours of labor.

Capitalism and the Factory System

The "domestic" system of industry

41. Having seen how machinery was introduced into England in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and how steam came to be utilized as a motive power, we have now to consider the important results of these inventions in changing the conditions under which people lived and worked. Up to this time the term "manufacture" still meant, as it did in the original Latin (*manu facere*), "to make by hand." Artisans carried on trades

with their own tools in their own homes or in small shops, as the cobbler does to-day. Instead of working with hundreds of others in great factories and being entirely dependent upon his wages, the artisan, in England at least, was often able to give some attention to a small garden plot, from which he derived a part of his support. This "domestic system," as it is called, is graphically described by the journalist, Defoe, as he observed it in Yorkshire during a journey through England in 1724–1726:

Defoe's description of Yorkshire artisans about 1725

"The land was divided into small enclosures of from two acres to six or seven acres each, seldom more, every three or four pieces having a house belonging to them; hardly a house standing out of speaking distance from another. We could see at every house a tenter and on almost every tenter a piece of cloth, or kersie, or shalloon. At every considerable house there was a manufactory. Every clothier keeps one horse at least to carry his manufactures to market, and every one generally keeps a cow or two, or more, for his family. By this means the small pieces of enclosed land about each house are occupied, for they scarce sow corn [i.e. grain] enough to feed their poultry. The houses are full of lusty fellows, some at their dye vat, some at their looms, others dressing the cloth; the women and children carding or spinning, all being employed from the youngest to the eldest."

Principle of the "factory system"

As the Industrial Revolution progressed, these hand workers found themselves unable to compete with the swift and tireless machines. Manufacturing on a small scale with the simple old tools and appliances became increasingly unprofitable. The workers had to leave their cottages and spend their days in great factories established by capitalists who had enough money to erect the huge buildings and install in them the elaborate and costly machinery and the engines to run it. As an English writer has concisely put it, "The typical unit of production is no longer a single family or group of persons working with a few cheap, simple tools upon small quantities of raw material, but a compact and closely organized mass of

labor composed of hundreds or thousands of individuals co-operating with large quantities of expensive and intricate machinery through which passes a continuous and mighty volume of raw material on its way to the consuming public." [1]

Chief results of the introduction of machinery

One of the principal results of the factory system is that it makes possible a minute division of labor. Instead of giving his time and thought to the whole process, each worker concentrates his attention upon a single stage of it, and by repeating a simple set of motions over and over again acquires wonderful dexterity. At the same time the period of necessary apprenticeship is shortened, because each separate task is comparatively simple. Moreover the invention of new machinery is increased, because the very subdivision of the process into simple steps often suggests some way of substituting mechanical action for that of the human hand.

1. Division of labor

2. Examples of the increased production of goods by machinery

An example of the greatly increased output rendered possible by the use of machinery and the division of labor is given by the distinguished Scotch economist, Adam Smith, whose great work, *The Wealth of Nations*, appeared in 1776. Speaking of the manufacture of a pin in his own time, Adam Smith says: "To make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business, to whiten the pin is another. It is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper, and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations." By this division, he adds, ten persons can make upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. This was when machinery was in its infancy. A recent writer reports that an English machine now makes one hundred and eighty pins a minute, cutting the wire, flattening the heads, sharpening the points, and dropping the pins into their proper places. In a single factory which he visited seven million pins were made in a day, and three men were all that were required to manage the mechanism.

[1] For an account of the way in which Arkwright founded the factory system, see *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 63.

Printing

Another example of modern mechanical work is found in printing. For several centuries after Gutenberg printed his first book, the type was set by hand, inked by hand, each sheet of paper was laid by hand upon the type and then printed by means of a press operated by a hand lever. Nowadays our newspapers, in the great cities at least, are printed almost altogether by machinery, from the setting up of the type until they are dropped, complete, and counted out by hundreds, at the bottom of a rotary press. The paper is fed into the press from a great roll and is printed on both sides and folded at the rate of five hundred or more newspapers a minute.

3. Growth of great manufacturing towns

Before the coming of machinery industry was not concentrated in a few great cities, but was scattered more or less evenly over the country in the hands of small masters, or independent workmen, who combined manufacturing with agriculture on a small scale. For example, the metal workers of West Bromwich and the cutlers of Sheffield (already famous in Chaucer's day) lived in cottages with small plots of land around them, and in dull seasons, or to change their occupation, engaged in gardening. The factory system put an end to all this. The workmen now had to live near their work; long rows of houses, without gardens or even grass plots, were hastily built around the factory buildings, and thus the ugly tenement districts of our cities came into existence.

4. Appearance of a capitalist class

This great revolution in the methods of manufacturing produced also a sharp distinction between two classes of men involved. There were, on the one hand, the capitalists who owned the buildings and all the mechanism, and, on the other, the workmen whom they hired to operate the machines. Previous to the eighteenth century those who owned large estates had been, on the whole, the most important class in political and social life. But, alongside of the landed aristocracy, a powerful mercantile class had arisen, whose wealth, gained by commerce and trade, gave them influence in the affairs of the

nation.[1] With the improvements in machinery there was added the new class of modern capitalists, who amassed fortunes by establishing great manufacturing industries.[2]

5. The workman becomes dependent upon the capitalist

The workingman necessarily became dependent upon the few who were rich enough to set up factories. He could no longer earn a livelihood in the old way by conducting a small shop to suit himself. The capitalist owned and controlled the necessary machinery, and so long as there were plenty of workmen seeking employment in order to earn their daily bread, the owner could fix a low wage and long hours. While an individual employee of special ability might himself become a capitalist, the ordinary workman would have to remain a workman. The question of the proportion of the product which should go to the workers, and that which may properly be taken by the capitalist, or manager, who makes a successful business possible, lies at the basis of the great problem of capital and labor.

Problem of Labor *vs.* Capital

6. Women and children in the factories

The destruction of the domestic system of industry had also a revolutionary effect upon the work and the lives of women and children. In all except the heaviest of the mechanical industries, such as iron working or ship building, the introduction of simple machines tended greatly to increase the number of women and children employed compared with the men. For example, in the textile industry in England during the fifty years from 1841 to 1891, the number of males employed increased fifty-three per cent, and the number of females two hundred and twenty-one per cent. Before the invention of the steam engine, when the simple machines were worked by hand, children could be employed only in some of the minor processes such as preparing the cotton for spinning. But in

1 See Defoe's description of eighteenth-century merchant princes, *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 67.

2 The industrial capitalist began to appear even before the days of Arkwright and Watt, for there were employers earlier, who in some cases collected ten, twenty, or more looms in a town and employed workmen who had no tools of their own, thus creating something like the later factory system.

the modern factory labor is largely confined to watching machines, piecing broken threads, and working levers, so that both women and children can be utilized as effectively as men, and much more cheaply.

The Industrial Revolution relieves some women of their former duties

Doubtless the women were by no means idle under the old system of domestic industry, but their tasks were varied and performed at home, whereas under the new system they must flock to the factory at the call of the whistle, and labor monotonously at a speed set by the foreman. This led to many grave abuses which, as we shall see, the State has been called upon to remedy by factory legislation, which has served to save the women and children from some of the worst hardships, although a great deal still remains to be done. On the other hand, thousands of women belonging to the more fortunate classes have been relieved of many of the duties which devolved upon the housewife in the eighteenth century, when many things were made at home which can now be better and more cheaply produced on a large scale.

7. Broadening effects of mechanical progress on the workingman

Before the Industrial Revolution there had been no sudden change in the life and habits of the people, since the same tools had been used in the same way, often by the same family, from generation to generation. When invention began change began, and it seems likely to become more and more rapid, since new and better ways of doing things are discovered daily. Old methods give way to new ones, and the workman of to-day may successively engage in a considerable variety of occupations during his life as industries rise, are transformed, and decline under the stress of competition and invention. This serves to shake the workingman out of the old routine, encourages him to move from place to place as circumstances dictate, and so widens his experience and broadens his mind. He has also learned to combine with his fellows into national unions, and even international congresses of workingmen are held to consider their common interests and agree upon general policies to be pursued.

To these changes still another may be added, i.e. the expansion of commerce. In spite of the development of trade before the eighteenth century, a great part of the goods produced was destined to be consumed in the neighborhood, whereas, after the invention of machinery, it became customary to manufacture goods to be sold in any part of the world; so that one would find the products of Manchester or Birmingham in Hongkong, Melbourne, or Bulawayo. According to official estimates, the exports of England, which amounted to less than fourteen million pounds sterling in 1783, exceeded twenty-nine millions thirteen years later.

8. Expansion of commerce

The Industrial Revolution, in addition to changing fundamentally the old methods of living, traveling, and working, gave an entirely new direction to European politics and to theories of government and industry. The two great classes created by the Industrial Revolution, namely, the middle class and the working class, each entered politics on its own account; and the struggle of these two groups against the feudal landlords and the clergy constitutes a very large portion of the political history of Europe during the nineteenth century. The contest of the manufacturers of Europe to win markets for their products in the four corners of the earth is largely responsible for the opening up of backward places in the Orient and Africa.

9. Effect of the Industrial Revolution on governments and politics

The enterprising mill owners and merchants handling products naturally were discontented with the way in which feudal landlords and absolute monarchs monopolized, or attempted to monopolize, government. They also were dissatisfied with the attempts of governments to maintain many of the restrictions on industry and business enterprise which originated in the Middle Ages, and which only hampered the individual initiative of the man who wanted to run his business in his own way and sell his goods as he pleased.

The middle class

This middle class of manufacturers and traders developed a theory of government suited to their particular interests, which they called political economy. According to this theory of

Political economy

government or political economy, which was formulated by Adam Smith and developed by Ricardo and other writers, the government should keep its hands off of industry. It should not attempt to regulate prices of goods or pass upon their quality. Neither should it interfere with the employer and his workmen, nor prescribe the hours or conditions of labor in factories.

The theory of individualism

The principle on which this early political economy was based was that every person was the best judge of what was good for himself, and, if left alone, would rise or fall in the scale of prosperity according to his individual efforts and abilities. Prices would be kept at the lowest possible point by competition among manufacturers, and a "natural" rate of wages would be established in each industry under the law of supply and demand. This theory was peculiarly acceptable to the prosperous middle class of merchants and manufacturers, and they assumed that their doctrines were not only sound and productive of the greatest happiness, but partook of the character of "natural laws" which could not be broken by governments or by organizations of workingmen without disastrous consequences.

The working class and their "political economy"

The chief trouble with this political economy was that it did not work out in practice, as the theorists had imagined, in universal well-being. On the contrary, the great manufacturing cities, instead of being filled with happy and prosperous people, became the homes of a relatively few well-to-do and multitudes of poor working people, who rapidly grew discontented with their lot in life and refused to be pacified by declarations that the condition in which they found themselves was the product of "nature." The working class and their sympathizers began to criticize the political economy of the middle class, and their spokesmen began to formulate one of their own. Their attitude toward the economy of Adam Smith and Ricardo is summed up in the words of Charles Kingsley: "The man who tells us that we ought to investigate nature simply to sit still patiently under her and let her freeze and ruin and starve and

stink us to death is a goose, whether he calls himself a chemist or a political economist." Out of this revolt against the conditions of life imposed by the uncontrolled factory system grew what is called vaguely the socialist movement.

The Rise of Socialism

Precursors of socialism

42. Discontent with the poverty of the masses is, of course, as old as civilization, and from the fifth century before Christ, when Plato wrote his work on *The Republic*, down to our own days, when writers like Edward Bellamy and H. G. Wells have tried to picture for us an ideal future, men have dreamed of a civilization without poverty, idleness, or ugliness.[1]

Early socialists

It will be remembered that during the French Revolution Babœuf declared that reform had only begun, and that the only cure for poverty was the transfer of private property to the State, which should manage it for the good of all. But he made few converts, and his plans came to naught.

Saint-Simon, 1760–1825

The Napoleonic wars and the restoration of the monarchy did not, however, extinguish interest in social reform, and a number of writers began to consider seriously various methods of abolishing poverty. Among these Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen assume a leading place. The first is commonly regarded as the founder of French socialism. He was the heir to a great name and a considerable fortune and received his education from some of the leading scholars of his day; after demonstrating his love of liberty by participating in the American War of Independence, he devoted himself to the study of means for improving the social order. He came to the conclusion that the government should organize and manage industry through associations which would secure to each worker a reward proportionate to his services to the State. In his book

[1] Among these dreamers may be mentioned Sir Thomas More, who, in the time of Henry VIII, wrote the famous little book called *Utopia*, or "the land of nowhere," where everything was arranged as it should be, and where men lived together in brotherly love and prosperity. Since his day those who advocate any fundamental revolution in society have commonly been called "Utopians."

entitled *The New Christianity* he argued that it was the great mission of the Church to teach the brotherhood of man and to fight poverty and distress. After his death a small school of followers continued to propagate his doctrine.

Fourier, 1772–1837

While Saint-Simon was elaborating his plan for the regeneration of society, another Frenchman, Charles Fourier (b. 1772), was advocating a different remedy for poverty. He did not believe that the central government could possibly manage properly the great business enterprises necessary to human welfare, so he urged the formation of groups of families into what he called "phalanxes," which should each contain about two thousand members. Each group was to own buildings and all the needful implements for the production of the necessities of life. The total product was to be divided up in the following manner: capital was to receive four twelfths, labor five twelfths, and the talent necessary for the proper management of the phalanxes and all their enterprises was to receive three twelfths. Fourier believed that in this way universal harmony would be produced. His profound confidence in his theory is illustrated by the fact that for years he was at his house at twelve o'clock to confer with any philanthropist who felt inclined to furnish the money to start the first phalanx. The awaited visitor never came, but nevertheless Fourier's theories won many sympathizers, especially in the United States, among men of no less insight than Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, and George William Curtis. The experiment of actually founding a species of phalanx was made in Massachusetts by the Brook Farm Colony, of which several distinguished Americans were members for a time.

Robert Owen

In England the first great exponent of socialism was Robert Owen,[1] a successful manufacturer and a generous friend of the poor. Like Fourier, he believed that he had found the secret for the regeneration of mankind in the formation of coöperative groups which should own and use for their own benefit all the means of production necessary for their common life. He wrote

[1] See below, p. 400.

innumerable works and tracts and preached his doctrine with untiring zeal; he even appealed to the crowned heads of Europe to take up his plan, and came to the United States to defend it before the House of Representatives. Several of his proposed colonies were actually founded in Great Britain, and also in the United States (for example, at New Harmony, Indiana), but they failed for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, Owen's writings and labors influenced the working classes in England, and it is to his inspiration that the great British coöperative enterprises of the present day are largely due. It is probable, too, that we owe to Owen the word "socialism."

The utopian socialists regarded by modern socialists as unpractical

All these theorists had much in common. They were deeply moved by the misery which they saw about them, they boldly condemned the system of society in which they lived, and proposed a revolution which should remedy its evils. They did not, however, reckon with the great complexity of human nature or the respect for tradition which always stands in the way of change. They assumed that it would only be necessary to present a reasonable and beautiful theory of harmony and plenty in order to induce men to found a new social order. They also appealed to the upper classes for aid in realizing their schemes, and made no attempt to organize the great mass of workingmen into political parties for the purpose of getting control of the government and forcing it to forward their plans. The modern socialists look back upon these men as unpractical "utopians" who often had good ideas, but were, after all, mere dreamers.

The *Communist Manifesto*

The doctrines of modern socialism were formulated on the eve of the revolution of 1848 by two young Germans, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in a pamphlet known as the *Communist Manifesto*,[1] which was destined to become the creed of the greatest international political movement the world has ever seen.

[1] The word "communistic" has now given way to "socialistic," which is generally used in the same sense that "communistic" was in 1848. Extracts from the *Communist Manifesto* are given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 489–493.

Karl Marx, 1818–1883

The first of these young men may be regarded as the founder of international socialism, although there is no doubt that he owed a great deal to the labors of his colleague. Karl Marx was born in 1818 in Treves, reared in an enlightened home, and educated at the Universities of Bonn and Berlin. He had early decided upon the career of a university professor, but the boldness of his speech and his radical tendencies barred his way and consequently he entered journalism. His attacks on the Prussian government led to the suppression of his paper in 1843, and the close surveillance of the police caused him to migrate to Paris. He was, however, expelled from France by Guizot, and after some wanderings he finally settled in London, where he studied and wrote until his death in 1883.

Das Kapital

Throughout his life Marx wrote voluminously on history, philosophy, and current politics, and for a time he was a correspondent of the New York *Tribune* when it was under the management of Horace Greeley. His fundamental views on political economy were brought together in a large work of three volumes entitled *Das Kapital* ("Capital"), the first part of which appeared in 1867, but which was left unfinished at his death. This work is so widely circulated among socialist leaders that it is sometimes called "the workingman's Bible," although it contains very few pages indeed that would enlighten a person seeking the cardinal doctrines of modern socialism which Marx laid down.[1] These are to be found throughout his scattered writings, and especially in the *Communist Manifesto* mentioned above.

The class struggle

Marx differs fundamentally from the utopian theorists, — Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen,— in repudiating the idea that socialism can be introduced by voluntary agreements among kindly disposed persons. He claims that the new order cannot be established artificially, but will nevertheless come, as an

[1] The first volume of an English translation appeared in 1886, the second in 1906, while the third has just recently been published. *Das Kapital* has been translated into all of the continental languages.

A WORKING-CLASS DEMONSTRATION IN ENGLAND AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

inevitable result of the Industrial Revolution which created capitalists and workingmen and introduced intense competition. "The history of all hitherto existing society," he says, "is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, have stood in constant antagonism to one another and carried on an uninterrupted warfare, now secret, now open, which has in every case ended either in the revolutionary reconstruction of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . . The modern society that has sprung from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch — the epoch of the bourgeoisie — possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly opposed to each other, bourgeoisie and proletariat."[1]

Bourgeoisie *vs.* proletariat

In this present struggle, Marx believed, the working class would win by uniting to overthrow the capitalist class, *not, however, by dividing up the property*, — which would even to a socialist seem sheer folly, — but by transferring ownership to the state or nation as a whole, which should operate the means of production for the direct benefit of the people.

Central idea of socialism

The very development of modern industry, Marx contended, favors the establishment of socialism. Wealth and industries are concentrating in the control of great companies, trusts, and corporations, which are managed from central offices and carried on by salaried employees and manual laborers, while the capitalist, he declared, is becoming only a stockholder, an idle drone drawing dividends earned for him by other men. Hence, argued Marx, the capitalist has become a mere owner of property, as useless as the feudal lords in the eighteenth century,

The manner in which Marx believed socialism would be brought about

[1] That is, the great mass of the people as distinguished from the capitalistic class, or "bourgeoisie."

who neither fought in the armies nor protected the peasants around their castles as their ancestors had done, but crowded about the court of the king, where they lived magnificently on revenues collected by their stewards from the poor people who tilled their estates. Marx therefore predicted that in time the capitalist's right of ownership will be abolished, and that the salaried employees of the great corporations will become the salaried clerks of the government when it takes over all the industries for the common good; thus socialism will be established.

Socialists maintain that "labor" is the source of all wealth and is therefore entitled to the whole product

It seems to the socialist that labor, in the broadest sense of the word, is the source of all wealth, whether this consists in houses, railroads, shoes and stockings, flour and potatoes, books, pictures, schools, libraries, newspapers, chemical laboratories, telephones. It was labor, they argue, which produced the capital necessary to establish the factories or railroads, and it is labor which keeps up the stream of goods of all kinds and directs man's energies into new and profitable fields. Only one who contributes in some way to the welfare of mankind — whether as a simple day laborer or an engineer, manager, inventor, designer, teacher, author, editor, or artist — should have any share in the general output.

Socialists would abolish private ownership of the means of production

But as industry is now organized, the socialist holds, those who happen to have money to invest in machines, farms, and mines often derive a very large revenue from them without taking any part in the work. Consequently the socialists would turn over all of the means of production to the State, just as the roads, the waterworks, the telegraphs and telephones, and the postal system are now frequently in the hands of the government. Private ownership would then be confined to personal effects and articles of consumption, — food, clothing, furniture, pictures, and books. This, they believe, would free the poor from the "exploitation" of the rich capitalists, who now too often control the newspapers and the lawmaking in their own interests and are able to arrange everything to increase their

personal share in the wealth produced. The extinction of the capitalist is to the socialist the only method of relieving the people as a whole from poverty and oppression.

Reply of Marx to those who cry out against the abolition of private property

To those who raise a cry against the injustice of this plan Marx replies: "You are horrified at our intention to do away with private property. But in your existing form of society private property is already done away with for nine tenths of the people; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine tenths. You reproach us, therefore, for proposing to abolish a form of property which can only exist because it is denied to the immense majority of society." So long, he urges, as the fundamental vice remains, the well-meaning efforts of "economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organizers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance agitators, and hole-in-the-corner reformers of every kind" must prove vain or insignificant.

Glorious picture of a socialistic future

In the name of "true democracy and human welfare" Marx and his followers summon the proletariat of every land, who, they urge, have nothing now to lose except their chains, to unite and make the world their own. They hold up before the workingman a picture of a time to come when the idle will be set to labor, and no one will become rich at the cost of his neighbor, when every one will have an opportunity to develop for the benefit of society the best that is in him. Poverty will then disappear, and all men, organized into a great army for the conquest of Nature, will emancipate themselves from hunger and disease and live together in harmony and brotherly love.

It was some time before the principles laid down by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* became accepted dogmas of great socialist parties; but the working-class leaders during the early part of the nineteenth century everywhere in Europe struggled to obtain the ballot for workingmen and to secure government interference to improve their lot. They participated actively in the agitation which led to the revolution of 1848;

and after they secured the vote they began the organization of independent political parties, which afterwards generally became socialistic in their character.

REFERENCES

Introduction of Machinery into Textile and Iron Industries: HOBSON, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, chap. iii; CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England*, pp. 203–212.

Ancient and Mediæval Experiments with Steam: THURSTON, *A History of the Growth of the Steam Engine*, pp. 1–19.

Steam Engines before Watt's Inventions: THURSTON, pp. 19–78.

James Watt and the Development of the Modern Engine: THURSTON, pp. 79–143.

The Organization of Industry before Machinery: HOBSON, chap. ii; CHEYNEY, pp. 220–232.

The Organization of Industry after Machinery: HOBSON, chap. iv; CHEYNEY, pp. 232–239.

Development of the Industrial Town: HOBSON, chap. xiii.

Employment of Women in Industry: HOBSON, chap. xii.

Karl Marx and Socialism: KIRKUP, *History of Socialism*, pp. 130–167; SPARGO, *Socialism*, pp. 46–181.

Ferdinand Lassalle: KIRKUP, pp. 73–122.

Recent Progress of Socialism: KIRKUP, pp. 311–349.

CHAPTER XIII

REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE

Unpopularity of Louis Philippe's Government

Character of Louis Philippe

43. The revolution of 1830 gave the final blow in France to the divine right of kings. The sovereignty of the people was proclaimed in the revised Charter which Louis Philippe accepted from the parliament. He added to the former title — "King of the French by the Grace of God" — the significant phrase "and the Will of the Nation." But in spite of these externals, only a small fraction of the nation had any part in the new government. The revised election law, which reduced the voting age from forty to thirty years and the property qualification by one third, still excluded the majority of Frenchmen from political life. The king himself announced that his policy would be the golden mean between conservatism and liberalism. He lived without the pomp of royalty, and was fond of going shopping, almost unattended, carrying his green umbrella under his arm. He was cautious, grasping, and avaricious, and as time wore on he grew more and more conservative. His reign of eighteen years was a period of political stagnation.

The legitimists

The so-called "July monarchy" was therefore stoutly opposed by two types of extremists, — the adherents of the older Bourbon line, or "legitimists," as they were called, and the republicans. The former regarded as their lawful king a grandson of Charles X whom they called Henry V. This party was numerically small; it was mainly recruited from the nobility and the clergy, and was not given to violent measures, such as throwing up barricades and seizing public buildings.

The republicans

It was an altogether different matter with the republicans, who cherished the memories of 1793 and continued to threaten France with another violent revolution. This party carried on its work mainly through secret societies, similar to the Carbonari in Italy, which spread rapidly in the new manufacturing towns. Remembering the ease with which they had overturned the throne in 1830, the republicans made several futile attempts to organize insurrections, which were speedily put down, however, by Louis Philippe's troops.

The government takes measures to suppress the republican party

In addition to their other efforts to destroy the monarchy, the republicans published a number of papers which attacked the government and even ventured to make sport of the king. The administration thereupon determined to suppress entirely this revolutionary party by strict police supervision of societies and by press censorship. By these vigorous methods the republicans, as a political party, were reduced for the time being to insignificance.

The socialists

Meanwhile there was growing up in the large industrial cities a socialistic party, which no mere change of rulers or extension of the suffrage would satisfy. Its members had seen the republic, the empire, and the Bourbon monarchy come and go, and constitutions made and unmade, leaving the poverty of the peasants and workingmen unalleviated. On the other hand, they had seen the nobles deprived of their privileges and the clergy of their property, and it was only natural that bold thinkers among them should demand that the triumphant middle class, who owed their wealth to commerce and the new machinery, should in turn be divested of some of their riches and privileges in the interest of the working classes.

Babœuf advocates a socialistic system during the Reign of Terror

Denunciations of private property and of the unequal distribution of wealth had been heard during the first French Revolution and even earlier, but they had attracted little attention. Babœuf (1760–1797) had declared in the days of the Terror that a *political* revolution left the condition of the people practically unchanged. "When I see the poor without the

clothing and shoes which they themselves are engaged in making, and contemplate the small minority who do not work and yet want for nothing, I am convinced that government is still the old conspiracy of the few against the many, only it has taken a new form." His proposal to transfer all property to the State and so administer it that every one should be assured employment, speedily found adherents, and a society was formed to usher in the new order. The organization was soon suppressed and Babœuf himself executed; but his writings were widely circulated, and after the July revolution in 1830 several groups of socialists began to agitate their plans of social revolution.

Louis Blanc's *Organization of Labor*, 1839

The work of formulating a practical program for these different factions was undertaken by Louis Blanc, whose volume on *The Organization of Labor*, published in 1839, gave definiteness to the vague aspirations of the reformers.[1] Blanc proclaimed the right of all men to employment and the duty of the State to provide it. He proposed that the government should furnish the capital to found national workshops which should be managed by the workmen, who were to divide the profits of the industry among themselves, thus abolishing the employing class altogether. The "organization of labor" became the battle cry of the labor leaders; it was heard even in the Chamber of Deputies. Nevertheless, there was no well-organized socialist party ready to enter the political field or to work for a definite aim.

Views of Thiers and Guizot

The political power at this time was really in the hands of two groups of statesmen, one headed by Thiers, and the other by Guizot, both famous as historians and men of letters. Thiers wished to have a constitution like that of England, where, as he was wont to say, "the king reigns but does not rule." Guizot wished the king to exercise real power; he did not want the throne to become an "empty armchair," and regarded further changes in the constitution as undesirable. In 1840 he became prime minister, and he and the king together

[1] For Blanc's labor program, see *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 76.

ruled France for eight years. Though personally honorable, Guizot placed the government on a thoroughly corrupt basis and then attempted to stifle protest by police measures and the prosecution of newspaper editors. He steadily refused to undertake any legislation for the benefit of the working classes and opposed all efforts to extend the suffrage, maintaining that there were not more than one hundred thousand persons in all France "capable of voting with good judgment and independence."

The Second French Republic

The February revolution in Paris

44. In spite of Guizot's strong position, there were, in February, 1848, disturbances in the streets of Paris which frightened Louis Philippe and led to the resignation of the unpopular minister. But this did not restore quiet, for the leaders in the street disturbances wanted far more than a change in the ministry. During the evening of the twenty-third they made a formidable demonstration before the Foreign Office, where Guizot resided; thereupon the soldiers on guard fired upon and killed several of the rioters. This roused the anger of the populace to fever heat; the bodies of the victims were placed on a cart and carried through the boulevards in a weird torchlight procession. Before the dawn of February 24 the eastern part of the city was covered with barricades. In the narrow winding streets a cart or two and a heap of cobblestones formed an effective fortification, while the tall houses on either side enabled a few defenders to check a considerable body of soldiers.

Abdication of Louis Philippe, February 24, 1848

A republic proclaimed

The entire city was soon in the hands of the insurgents, and Louis Philippe in despair abdicated in favor of his grandson, the count of Paris. Both the republicans and the labor party were determined to have no more royalty, so they proclaimed a republic on the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, subject to the ratification of the people in a national assembly to be summoned immediately.

The moderate republicans were quite satisfied with merely abolishing the monarchy, but the workingmen, whose active coöperation had put the revolutionists in power, had set their hearts on introducing the whole scheme advocated by Louis Blanc. A decree was issued by the provisional government ordering the establishment of national workshops and charging the minister of public works with carrying the plan into execution. This measure was accepted by the majority of the provisional government in order to avoid a division in their ranks, which at that moment might have led to a renewal of disorder in Paris.

How the labor party was able to control the provisional government

As a further concession to the labor element the provisional government declared that it was necessary without delay to assure to the people the legitimate fruits of their labor, and established in the Luxembourg palace a committee charged with the special task of looking after the interests of the working classes. This was really a shrewd move on the part of the opponents of the "socialists," for it sent the latter away from the City Hall to waste their time in making fine speeches and expounding theories for the execution of which no money had been appropriated.

A labor commission established at the Luxembourg

The Luxembourg committee, headed by Louis Blanc and a leader of the workingmen named Albert, began its sessions on March 1, and at once proceeded to organize a labor parliament composed of delegates from each craft. This was opened on March 10 with a speech by the eloquent Blanc. He declared that as he beheld the workmen assembled in the Hall of the Peers, hitherto the sanctuary of privilege, in which so many laws directed against them had been made, he felt an emotion which he could with difficulty repress. "On these same seats," he exclaimed, "once glittering with embroidered coats, what do I see now? Garments threadbare with honorable toil, some perhaps bearing the marks of recent conflict." The labor parliament, however, accomplished very little, for the government had furnished them with no capital, and consequently Louis Blanc and his supporters were powerless to carry

The labor parliament assembles in the hall hitherto occupied by the House of Peers

out their plan for coöperative workshops, which they regarded as the most vital of all their reforms.[1]

The national workshops a mere temporary expedient unworthy the name

The provisional government had, it is true, ordered the establishment of national workshops and issued a decree guaranteeing employment to all, but with very different motives from those of the labor committee. Louis Blanc and his followers sought to organize the various trades into permanent, self-supporting coöperative industries, financed in the beginning by the State, but managed by the workingmen themselves. The provisional government, on the contrary, merely desired to allay the restlessness of the unemployed by fair promises. It opened relief works accordingly, which offered more or less useless occupation to the idle men who thronged to Paris. It attempted no more than merely to organize into brigades those who applied for work, and set them to digging ditches and building forts at a uniform wage of two francs a day.

This crude temporary expedient was put into operation March 1, and in fifteen days six thousand men had enrolled in the government employ. In April the number reached a hundred thousand, and several million francs were being expended to pay these labor gangs. The plan, however, realized the original object of the government, — it kept the idle busy and prevented disorder until the conservative classes could regain their usual ascendency.

The National Assembly exhibits no sympathy for socialism

On May 4 the provisional government gave way to a National Assembly elected by practically universal manhood suffrage, which was called upon to draft a new republican constitution for the country. The majority of the deputies were moderate republicans who were bitterly opposed to all socialistic tendencies. The rural districts which had taken no part in the Revolution could now make themselves felt, and it was clear enough that the representatives of the peasants did not sympathize in any way with the projects and demands of the Paris workingmen.

[1] Blanc's version of this experiment is given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 82.

CONFLICT BETWEEN WORKINGMEN AND THE TROOPS IN PARIS, JUNE, 1848

Before it could proceed to consider seriously the form of the new constitution the National Assembly was forced to take decisive measures in regard to the "national workshops," to which crowds continued to flock, draining the treasury to pay for their useless labor. It soon resolved to close the "workshops," and ordered the men either to join the army or leave the city. The people at once set up the cry of "bread or lead," and the most terrible street fighting that Paris had ever witnessed ensued. The streets of the districts inhabited by the working classes were again torn up for barricades, and from Friday, June 23, until the following Monday a desperate conflict raged. The assembly, fearing the triumph of the labor party, invested General Cavaignac with dictatorial power to crush the revolt. Victory was inevitably on the side of the government troops, who were well disciplined and well equipped, while the insurgents fought irregularly and were half-starved. In its hour of triumph the government's retaliation was most unjustifiably severe; about four thousand citizens were transported without trial, thirty-two newspapers were suppressed, and the leading writers among the radicals imprisoned. Order was restored, but the carnage of the "June days" left a heritage of undying hatred between the workingmen and the capitalists of Paris.

The terrible "June days" of 1848

After this "solution" of the labor problem the assembly turned to the work of drawing up a constitution. In spite of a strong royalist minority, the assembly had declared itself in favor of a republic on the very first day of meeting. It revived the motto of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," and urged all Frenchmen to forget their former dissensions and "to constitute henceforth but a single family."

The constitution of the second French Republic completed, November, 1848

After six months of debate a new constitution was promulgated. It proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and guaranteed religious freedom and liberty of the press. The government was vested in a single chamber elected by popular vote, and in a president, to be chosen, also by popular vote, for a term of four years.

The candidates for the presidency

After the establishment of the constitution, interest centered in the first presidential election, held on December 10, 1848. Three leading candidates entered the contest, Ledru-Rollin, representing the labor party, General Cavaignac, who had so ruthlessly suppressed the June insurrection, and Louis Napoleon, a nephew of Napoleon I.

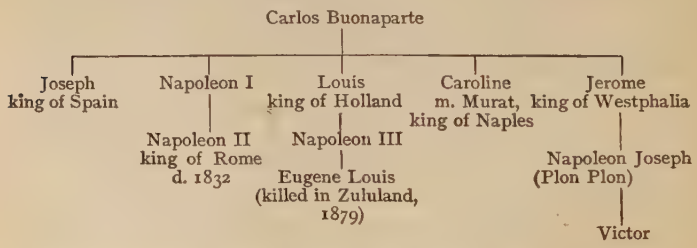
Checkered career of Louis Napoleon

The last of these candidates had up to this time led a varied and interesting life. He was born in Paris while his father, Louis Napoleon, was king of Holland. After his uncle's downfall, when he was six years old, he was expelled from France with his mother, who wandered about with him for some time. She continually impressed upon his youthful mind the fact that one who bore the great name of Bonaparte was destined to accomplish something in the world, and he came firmly to believe that it was his mission to reëstablish the Napoleonic dynasty on the throne of France.

After the death of Napoleon I's son in 1832[1] he put himself forward as the direct claimant to the imperial crown, and four years later he attempted to provoke a military uprising at Strassburg, designed to put him on the throne of France. This proved a miserable failure. He then settled in England, where he published in 1839 a volume on *Napoleonic Ideas*,[2] in which he represented Napoleon as the servant of the principles of the Revolution, his empire as the guardian of the rights of the people, and his fondest desire, the progress of democracy. In

Louis Napoleon's work on *Napoleonic Ideas*

[1] Chief members of the Napoleonic House.



[2] Extracts from this work are printed in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 84.

short, he created a fictitious Napoleon who hoped and labored only for the good of the people, and who was overthrown by tyrants.

In 1840 it seemed to Louis Napoleon that the time was ripe for another attempt to win the coveted crown. He landed with a few companions at Boulogne, bringing with him a tame eagle as an emblem of the empire. This second enterprise, like the first, proved a fiasco, and the unhappy leader was shut up in a fortress, from which, in 1846, he escaped to England to await the good fortune to which he still firmly believed himself destined.

Louis Napoleon returns to France in 1848

The insurrection in 1848 offered just the opportunity he desired, and four days after the proclamation of the republic he announced his presence in Paris to the provisional government, pledged himself to support it, and declared that he had no other ambition than that of serving his country. Shortly afterward he was elected a member of the National Assembly and soon found favor with the populace.

He conciliates the favor of all classes and is elected president of the French Republic

He had for years professed himself a democrat and proclaimed his belief in the sovereignty of the people.[1] He had written several essays in which he had expressed sympathy with the working classes, and he was known to have interested himself in the projects of Louis Blanc. He now offered himself as a candidate for the presidency and issued a campaign manifesto, as adroitly worded as many of his famous uncle's proclamations, in which he promised the working classes special laws for their benefit; but, on the other hand, he distinctly repudiated all socialistic schemes and reassured the middle classes by guaranteeing order and the security of property. He did not forget the soldiers, to whom he recalled the glories of the empire and offered an assured existence in return for their long and faithful services to their country. This time his plans worked admirably, for he was elected president by an overwhelming majority of five and a half million votes to less than one million and a half cast for the two other candidates combined.

[1] An interesting characterization of Louis Napoleon by one who knew him is given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 92.

Louis Napoleon and the Second French Empire

45. It soon became clear that the man whom the French had put at the head of their second republic was bent on making himself emperor.

How Louis Napoleon began to work toward reëstablishing the empire

He speedily began to work for a revision of the constitution that would extend his term of office from four to ten years. He selected his ministers from among his personal friends, courted the favor of the army and the government officials, and by journeys through the country sought to arouse the enthusiasm of the people for the restoration of the empire.

Coup d'état of December 1–2, 1851

As the Assembly refused to coöperate in his plans he finally determined to risk a *coup d'état*, which he had been meditating for some time. After a social function held in his palace on the evening of December 1, 1851, he gathered about him a few of his most trusted advisers and confided his designs to them. When the morning of December 2 — the anniversary of the glorious victory of Austerlitz — broke, the walls of Paris were placarded with copies of a decree issued by the president, dissolving the Assembly, reëstablishing universal suffrage, and ordering a new election.[1]

The president is given dictatorial power by a plebiscitum

Finally, he submitted to the people of France the following proposition: "The French people desire the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and delegate to him the necessary powers in order to make a constitution on the basis announced in his proclamation of December 2." Every Frenchman twenty-one years of age was permitted to vote "yes" or "no" on this proposition, and the result was officially estimated at 7,740,000 for the measure and 646,000 against it. The *coup d'état* was thus approved by the people, and what may be called the constitutional absolutism of the first Napoleon was again introduced into France.

Save for a little bloodshed in Paris on December 4, this revolution was accomplished very quietly. About a hundred

[1] For Louis Napoleon's appeal to the French, see *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 88.

thousand opponents of Napoleon throughout the country, including the leaders of the opposition in the assembly, were arrested, and nearly ten thousand were deported, but the people at large accepted the situation without protest. The workingmen generally rejoiced in the overthrow of the politicians who had waged war on them in the bloody June days of 1848.

Peaceful character of the revolution of December, 1851

The president was now master of France. He appointed officers, initiated laws, declared war, made peace, and in fact himself constituted the real power in the government. Though already an emperor in reality, he was not satisfied until he secured the title, and it was evident that the country was ready for the fulfillment of his hopes, for wherever he went he was greeted with cries of "Long live the Emperor." Part of this public sentiment was doubtless inspired by the president's officials, but the name of Napoleon awakened glorious memories, and there was a genuine desire throughout France to see the empire reëstablished.

Reëstablishment of the empire, November, 1852

Toward the close of 1852 Louis Napoleon, in a speech at Bordeaux,[1] at last openly announced his belief that France was ready for the abolition of the second republic. Inasmuch as the members of the senate were chosen by Louis Napoleon himself they readily agreed to pass a decree making him Napoleon III, emperor of the French. This decree was submitted to popular vote (November, 1852) and ratified by an overwhelming majority. The dream of Louis Napoleon's life was at last realized, — the Napoleonic dynasty was restored.

Despotic character of Napoleon III's government

For over ten years his government was a thinly veiled despotism. Though the imperial constitution confirmed the great principles of the Revolution, a decree abolishing the liberty of the press was immediately issued. No periodical or newspaper treating of political or social economy could be published without previous authorization on the part of the government. Moreover the government officers could suppress journals at will. Napoleon III had promised liberty of instruction, but he

[1] *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 91.

compelled the teachers in the university to take an oath of allegiance to himself. Instruction in history and philosophy was discouraged, and the university professors were directed to shave their moustaches "in order to remove from their appearance, as well as from their manners, the last vestiges of anarchy."

Prosperity of France under the second empire, 1852–1870

Notwithstanding this autocratic régime, the country was prosperous and the people fairly contented. If the emperor was a despot, he endeavored — and with no little success — to be an enlightened one. Benevolent institutions increased in number. Railway construction was rapidly pushed forward, and great trunk lines which had been begun under Louis Philippe were completed. The city of Paris was improved and beautified; the narrow streets were widened and broad avenues laid out. The great exposition of 1855 testified to the industrial and scientific advance of France; and if little of all this progress is to be attributed to the emperor's initiative, it nevertheless remains a fact that it was accomplished under his rule. Moreover, in 1870, he yielded to the imperative demand of the Liberals for a reform of the constitution, and established the responsibility of his ministers to parliament. If it had not been for a series of foreign events which weakened his prestige at home, Napoleon III might have remained securely on his throne until his death.

REFERENCES

The Character of Louis Philippe's Government: SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 132–136; FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 699–703; ANDREWS, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 276–314; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. xv, pp. 475–490; MÜLLER, *Political History of Recent Times*, pp. 182–186; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 114–127.

Growth of the Republican and Labor Parties: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 136–142; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 315–319; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. xv, pp. 490–493; HAZEN, pp. 136–141.

The Guizot Ministry and Development of Opposition: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 145–152; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 320–336; HAZEN, pp. 133–136.

The February Revolution: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 155–159; FYFFE, pp. 703–706; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 336–345; MÜLLER, pp. 186–192; HAZEN, pp. 141–144.

The Labor Party and its Overthrow: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 159–164; FYFFE, pp. 729–734; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 345–358; MÜLLER, pp. 192–197; HAZEN, pp. 187–194.

The Second Republic and Louis Napoleon: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 164–170; FYFFE, pp. 734–737, 810–823; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 7–41; MÜLLER, pp. 197–202; HAZEN, pp. 195–206.

The Empire of Napoleon III: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 170–184; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 146–188; HAZEN, pp. 206–214.

CHAPTER XIV

REVOLUTION OF 1848, — AUSTRIA, GERMANY, ITALY

The Fall of Metternich

The issues of the revolution of 1848 broader than those of the first French Revolution

46. When Metternich heard of the February revolution in France all his old fears were revived. "Europe finds herself to-day," he declared, "in the presence of a second 1793." Great changes had, however, taken place during the fifty-five years which had elapsed since France first offered to aid other nations to free themselves from their "tyrants" and throw off the trammels of feudalism. In 1848 the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man were accepted by the liberal parties which had come into existence in every state of Europe, and which were actively engaged in promoting the cause of popular government, a free press, equality of all before the law, and the abolition of the vestiges of the feudal system. Moreover the national spirit which had awakened during the Napoleonic Period was at work, and served more than anything else to excite opposition to the existing order. Lastly, the Industrial Revolution was quickening the thought and rousing the aspirations of the great mass of the population. Those who lived by the labor of their hands and were employed in the new industries which were rapidly developing now had their spokesmen, especially in France, and claimed the right to vote and to mold the laws to meet their particular interests. So in 1848 the rights of nations and of the laborer were added to the rights of man, which had constituted the main issue in 1793.

In nearly every European country the liberals were encouraged by the successful February revolution in Paris to undertake

to win, by violence if necessary, the reforms which they had so long been advocating. In England a body of workingmen, known as "Chartists," made a desperate though futile effort to wring from Parliament the right to vote. The Swiss, who had just passed through a civil conflict, swept away the constitution which had been adopted in 1814, and drew up a new one.[1] The chief agitations of 1848 — if we except that in France, described in the preceding chapter — occurred in Germany, Italy, and the Austrian dominions, and it seems best to consider first the disturbances in Vienna, where Metternich had for forty years been doing his best to prevent any hint of change.

The agitation of 1848 general throughout western Europe

But before proceeding it will be necessary to consider more carefully than we have hitherto done the singular composition of the realms of the House of Hapsburg. The regions west of Vienna, extending to Switzerland and Bavaria, were inhabited chiefly by Germans. To the south, in the provinces of Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, and Istria, there were many Slavs; and to the north, in Bohemia and Moravia, were the Czechs, interspersed among twice their number of Germans. On the borders of Russia dwelt the Poles, whose territories the emperor had received at

Extraordinary mixture of peoples under Austrian rule

[1] The settlement of 1815 in Switzerland, like that in Germany, Italy, and other European countries, met with opposition from the liberals. It had left the internal government of each canton in the hands of a small minority of the wealthy classes, and had modeled the diet on that of Germany, making it merely a congress of ambassadors with slight powers. Agitation for a revision of this system was begun immediately after its establishment, but it was opposed especially by the Catholics, who were in a slight minority and feared that a stronger central government would be used by the Protestants to restrict their rights. In 1841 the government of Aargau precipitated a civil conflict by suppressing the monasteries within its jurisdiction. Although the Swiss constitution guaranteed the monasteries in their rights, the federal government refused to interfere with the domestic concerns of Aargau. Thereupon the Catholic cantons, under the leadership of Lucerne, Uri, and Zug, formed a Catholic alliance, or *Sonderbund*, which defied the entire democratic and nationalist party. After some skirmishes which scarcely deserve the name of war, this party of disunion was suppressed, and in 1848 a new federal constitution drawn up. Instead of a diet of ambassadors it provided for a senate representing the states, and for deputies elected by the people at large on the plan of the government of the United States. This constitution was revised in 1874, when still larger powers were given to the federal government. For further details see Seignobos, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 256–285.

the partition of their kingdom. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Hungary included, besides the Magyars, or Hungarians proper, who dwelt in the vast plains of the Danube valley, Roumanians in the south and east, and the independence-loving Croats (Croatians) in the south and west. Beyond the Alps was the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom inhabited by Italians. Among this mass of people of different tongues and traditions, the most important were the Germans of Austria, the Czechs of Bohemia, the Magyars of Hungary, and the Italians in Lombardy and Venetia.

The government of Austria

In the provinces of the Austrian Empire, Ferdinand I ruled personally through ministers whom he appointed and dismissed. Laws were made, taxes levied, and revenues spent without consulting the people. Newspapers, books, theaters, and teachers were under close police surveillance to prevent the introduction of any new ideas. Travel abroad was restricted by a decree which required every citizen leaving the realm to have a government passport. Scholars were therefore largely cut off from the thought of western Europe, and Metternich boasted that the scientific spirit had been kept out of even the universities. The nobles still enjoyed their ancient authority over their serfs, including the right to prevent their leaving the villages without permission, and to exact from them the old feudal services. The clergy were as powerful as they had been before the French Revolution, and non-Catholics were excluded entirely from government offices.

Hungary controlled by the Magyar nobles

In the kingdom of Hungary the government was under the control of the proud and tyrannical Magyar nobles, who still enjoyed their old feudal privileges. There was a diet, or parliament, composed of an upper house of nobles, and a lower house of representatives chosen by the smaller landlords. Although the Magyars, or Hungarians proper,[1] constituted less than one

[1] The Hungarians — who belong to a very different race from the Slavic peoples and speak the Magyar tongue — invaded the Danube valley in the year 895, and wedged themselves in between the Slavic Russians and Poles on the north and the Slavic Croats, Slovaks, and Servians on the south.

half of the population, they held their neighbors, the Croats, Roumanians, and Slovaks, in contempt, and denied them all national rights. There were, however, enlightened liberals in Hungary, whose programme included the admission of the public to the discussions in the diet; a parliamentary journal in which the debates should be published in full; regular yearly meetings of the diet; equal taxation of all classes; the abolition of the forced labor required of the peasant, and all other vestiges of serfdom.

Kossuth (1802–1894)

The government did all it could to suppress these tendencies. The publication of reform speeches was forbidden, and a prominent Hungarian leader, Kossuth, was imprisoned for circulating them in manuscript. Undaunted by this punishment, however, Kossuth, on his release, established a newspaper at Pesth and began to advocate radical reforms in the Hungarian government itself, as well as greater freedom from Austrian interference. With fiery zeal he wrote and spoke on the abolition of feudal privileges, the introduction of trial by jury, revision of the barbarous criminal law, and similar questions which had long agitated the rest of Europe.

Causes of discontent in Lombardo-Venetia

The Italians in Lombardo-Venetia were no less dissatisfied than the Hungarians. The Austrian government there was in the hands of police officials and judges who arrested and imprisoned freely all advocates of Italian rights. Tariffs were so arranged as to enrich the emperor's treasury and check Italian industries in favor of those of Austria. The forts were garrisoned with Austrian troops which the government employed to suppress any violent demonstrations.

March revolution in Vienna

The ground was therefore thoroughly prepared for the seeds of insurrection when the overthrow of Louis Philippe encouraged the opponents of Metternich in Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy to hope that they could destroy his system at once and forever. On March 13, 1848, a number of students proceeded to the assembly hall in Vienna where the local diet was in session, and, supported by the crowd

that quickly gathered, invaded the building. Outside, the mob continued to increase, barricades were built, street fighting began, and shouts of "Down with Metternich" penetrated the imperial palace. The aged minister, convinced that it was no longer possible to check the rising torrent of revolution, tendered his resignation. He fled from Austria and found refuge in England, where he was heartily welcomed by his old friend, the duke of Wellington, who was himself occupied with a threatened uprising in London. After the flight of Metternich a new ministry was formed, which began to draft a constitution.

Fall of Metternich

Two days after the uprising in Vienna the Hungarian diet at Pressburg, by a unanimous vote, dispatched a delegation to the emperor, demanding a responsible ministry, freedom of the press, trial by jury, and a national educational system. Then the Hungarian diet, under the influence of the zealous patriot, Kossuth, swept away the old offices through which the emperor had ruled in Hungary, and established its own ministries of finance, war, and foreign affairs, — a first step toward independence. It also emancipated the peasants without providing compensation to the landlords, leaving that as a "debt of honor" to be paid in the future. The king, owing to the insurrection in Vienna, was in no position to reject even these revolutionary measures.

Reform measures in Hungary

His troubles were, moreover, not yet at an end, for on March 15 the patriotic Czechs in the city of Prague held a mass meeting at which a petition for civil liberty and the abolition of serfdom was drawn up. Solemn mass was then said, and a delegation bearing the petition left by special train for Vienna amid the cheers of the crowd and the waving of Czech flags. The emperor addressed the Bohemian delegates, to their great joy, in their own language, and approved most of their proposals. It will be observed that so far neither in Hungary nor in Bohemia had the patriots showed any desire to throw off their allegiance to their Austrian ruler.

Revolution in Prague

In Italy, however, the Austrian rule was thoroughly hated. Immediately on hearing the news of Metternich's fall the

Milanese expelled the imperial troops from their city, and the Austrians were soon forced to evacuate a great part of Lombardy. The Venetians followed the lead of Milan and set up once more their ancient republic which Napoleon had suppressed. The Milanese, anticipating a struggle, appealed to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, for aid. By the middle of March a great part of Italy was in revolt, and constitutions had been granted by the rulers in Naples, Rome, Tuscany, and Piedmont. The king of Sardinia was forced by public opinion to assume the leadership in the attempt to expel the interloping Austria and ultimately perhaps to found some sort of an Italian union which would satisfy the national aspirations of the Italian people. Pope Pius IX, who was just beginning his long and celebrated pontificate of more than thirty years, and even the Bourbon king of Naples, were induced to consent to the arming of troops in the cause of Italian freedom, and thus Italy began her first war for independence.

Revolution throughout Italy, March, 1848

The crisis in Vienna and the war in Italy now made it impossible for Austria to continue to exercise the control over the German states which she had enjoyed for more than thirty years. Consequently there were almost simultaneous risings in Baden, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony. The news of the February revolution in Paris caused great excitement also in Berlin, where deputations were sent to the king, asking him to grant Prussia a constitution. On March 18 a crowd before the royal palace came into serious collision with the police; some street fighting ensued, and barricades were constructed after the Paris fashion in the districts in which the working people lived. Frederick William IV, hoping to avoid more disorder and bloodshed, promised to summon an assembly to draft the desired constitution.

The Prussians demand a constitution

Now that Metternich was overthrown there was some hope of reorganizing the weak German confederation and forming a new and firm union which would at last make a real nation of the Germans. At the instigation of the liberals the diet of

A National Assembly convoked at Frankfort to draw up a new constitution for Germany, May, 1848

the confederation convoked a National Assembly made up of representatives chosen by popular vote in all the states. This met at Frankfort, May 18, 1848, amid high hopes, and proceeded to take up the difficult question of drafting a constitution which should please at once the German princes and their liberal-minded subjects.

Failure of the Revolution in Bohemia and Hungary

Bright outlook for reform in March, 1848

47. By the end of March, 1848, the prospects of reform seemed bright indeed. Hungary and Bohemia had been granted the rights which they had so long desired; a committee in Vienna was busy drawing up a constitution for the Austrian provinces; Lombardy and Venetia had declared their independence; four other Italian states had obtained their longed-for constitutions; a Prussian convention to reform the government had been promised; and, lastly, a great National Assembly was about to be convened at Frankfort to prepare a constitution for a united Germany.

How the radicals, by their want of coöperation and their extreme demands, aided the conservatives to regain their power

The reformers who had gained these seeming victories had, however, only just reached the most difficult part of their task. They were opposed by two parties, who abhorred each other, but who effectually combined to frustrate the plans for reform. These were, first, the conservatives, represented by the rulers and nobles, who were naturally reluctant to see popular constitutions established; and, secondly, the radicals of various degrees, from those who only wanted universal suffrage, to the socialists, who wished to overturn the whole existing economic system in favor of the working classes. As in France, so also in the other countries, the revolutionists were divided among themselves, and this division enabled the reactionary rulers and their supporters to recover from the extraordinary humiliations which they had suffered during the various uprisings in March.

Divergent views of the Czechs and Germans in Bohemia

The first notable victory for the reaction was in Bohemia, where race rivalry proved favorable to the reëstablishment of the emperor's former influence. The Czechs hated the Germans, while the Germans, on their part, feared that they would be oppressed if the Czechs were given a free hand. They therefore opposed the plan of making Bohemia practically independent of the government at Vienna, for it was to German Vienna that they were wont to look for protection against the enterprises of their Czechish fellow-countrymen. The German element also wanted to send delegates to the Frankfort Convention and were very anxious that Bohemia should not be excluded from the reorganized German confederation.

The Pan-Slavic congress forced to carry on its debates in German

The Czechs, on the other hand, determined to offset the movement toward German consolidation by a Pan-Slavic congress, which should bring together the various Slavic peoples comprised in the Austrian Empire. To this assembly, which met at Prague early in June, 1848, came representatives of the Czechs, Moravians, and Ruthenians in the north, and the Servians and Croatians in the south. Unfortunately the several Slavonic languages differ from one another quite as much as English, Swedish, Dutch, and German, and after trying French as a common tongue, the delegates had to fall back upon German, which was the only language with which they were all familiar.

Windischgrätz puts an end to the Bohemian revolution, June 18, 1848

The congress accomplished nothing beyond fraternal declamations, and was about to dissolve on June 12, when some of the more radical students and workingmen began singing Bohemian songs and denouncing General Windischgrätz, a Bohemian nobleman in command of the troops in Prague, who was especially hated on account of his aristocratic bearing and sentiments. A street fight broke out between the crowd and his soldiers, which was followed by an attack on his residence. On June 17 he retaliated by bombarding the town, which caught fire. The next day he entered the flaming streets and announced that the revolution in Bohemia was at an end. This was Austria's first real victory over her rebellious subjects.

Windischgrätz bombards and takes Vienna, October 31, 1848

In Vienna affairs were going from bad to worse. Frightened by the growing disorder, the incompetent emperor fled to Innsbruck (May 18). A provisional government was set up and an assembly called to draft a new constitution, but nothing was accomplished. Meantime the turmoil increased. The emperor's government was helpless, and finally Windischgrätz announced his intention of marching on Vienna and, with the emperor's approval, putting an end to revolution there as he had done in Prague. The Viennese attempted to defend the city, but all in vain. After a cruel bombardment Windischgrätz entered the capital on October 31, and once within the walls, he showed little mercy on the people.[1]

Francis Joseph becomes emperor of Austria

A reactionary ministry was soon formed, and a new Metternich discovered in the person of Schwartzenberg, who forced the weak Ferdinand to abdicate, December 2, in favor of his youthful nephew, Francis Joseph, who still (1912) sits on the Austrian throne.

Dissension between the Magyars and Slavs

It will be remembered that after the fall of Metternich the emperor had not been in a position to refuse the demands of the Hungarians, and that they had succeeded in gaining practical independence for their kingdom. But the spirit of nationalism had also been awakened in the other races which the Magyars had so long dominated. The Slavs in Hungary, southern Austria, and the neighboring Turkish Empire had long meditated on the possibility of a united Slavic kingdom in the south, and when the Magyars attempted to force their language on the Croats, one of the Slav leaders hurled back at them: "You Magyars are only an island in an ocean of Slavs. Take heed that the waves do not rise and overwhelm you." Indeed, the Croats and Servians were, on the whole, friendly to the Vienna government, and ready to fight the Hungarians.

Austria, with Russia's aid, crushes the Hungarian rebellion, August, 1849

The emperor finally threw off the mask and, in a manifesto on October 3, declared the Hungarian parliament dissolved and its acts void. In December Windischgrätz, the conqueror of

[1] An account by an eyewitness is given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 101.

Prague and Vienna, crossed into Hungary at the head of an army, and on January 5 entered Pesth. The war seemed for a time at an end, but the Hungarians rallied in a mighty national uprising against the Austrians, and on April 19, 1849, they declared their complete and eternal separation from the Vienna government. They might have succeeded in maintaining their independence had not the Tsar, Nicholas I, placed his forces at the disposal of Francis Joseph. Attacked by an army of a hundred and fifty thousand Russians, who marched in from the east, the Hungarians were compelled, by the middle of August, to give up the contest. Austria took terrible vengeance upon the rebels. Thousands were shot, hanged, or imprisoned, and many, including Kossuth,[1] fled to the United States or elsewhere. The ancient kingdom of Hungary seemed about to be reduced to the state of an insignificant Austrian province, but, as we shall see, within less than twenty years she was able to secure substantially the coveted independence.

Austria regains her Power in Italy

48. Austria was no less successful in reëstablishing her power in Italy than in Hungary. The Italians had been unable to drive out the Austrian army which, under the indomitable general, Radetzky, had taken refuge in the so-called Quadrilateral, in the neighborhood of Mantua, where it was protected by four great fortresses. Charles Albert of Sardinia found himself, with the exception of a few volunteers, almost unsupported by the other Italian states. The best ally of Austria was the absence of united action upon the part of the Italians and the jealousy and indifference which they showed as soon as war had actually begun. Pius IX decided that his mission was one of peace, and that he could not afford to join in a war against Austria, the stanchest friend of the Roman Church. The king of Naples

Defeat of the Italians under Charles Albert of Sardinia, July, 1848

[1] Kossuth's version of the revolution is given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 103 *sqq*.

easily found a pretext for recalling the troops that public opinion had compelled him to send to the aid of the king of Sardinia. Charles Albert was defeated at Custozza, July 25, and compelled to sign a truce with Austria and to withdraw his forces from Lombardy.

Policy of the Italian republicans

The Italian republicans now attempted to carry out their own programme. Florence followed the example of Venice and proclaimed itself a republic. At Rome the liberal and enlightened Rossi, whom the Pope had placed at the head of affairs, was assassinated in November just as he was ready to promulgate his reforms. Pius IX fled from the city and put himself under the protection of the king of Naples. A constitutional assembly was then convoked by the revolutionists, and in February, 1849, under the influence of Mazzini, it declared the temporal power of the Pope abolished, and proclaimed the Roman Republic.

Austria defeats the king of Sardinia at Novara, March, 1849

While these local insurrections were weakening the already distracted Italy, the truce between Piedmont and Austria expired, and in March, 1849, Charles Albert renewed the war which had been discontinued after the disaster at Custozza. The campaign lasted but five days and closed with his crushing and definitive defeat at Novara (March 23), which put an end to the hopes of Italian liberty for the time being. Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, who was destined before many years to exchange the title of King of Sardinia for that of King of Italy.

Accession of Victor Emmanuel II as king of Sardinia

Austria rëestablishes the former conditions in Italy, except in Piedmont

After bringing the king of Sardinia to terms, Austria pushed southward, reëstablishing the old order as she went. The ephemeral Italian republics were unable to offer any effectual resistance. The former rulers were restored in Rome, Tuscany, and Venice, and the new constitutions were swept away from one end of the peninsula to the other, except in Piedmont, the most important part of the king of Sardinia's realms. There Victor Emmanuel not only maintained the representative government [1] introduced by his father, but, by summoning to his councils

[1] Extracts from the Constitution are given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 109.

men known throughout Italy for their liberal sentiments, he prepared to lead the Italian states once more against their foreign oppressors.

Outcome of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany

49. In Germany, as elsewhere, Austria profited by the dissensions among her opponents. On May 18, 1848, the National Assembly, consisting of nearly six hundred representatives of the German people, had met at Frankfort. It immediately began the consideration of a new constitution that should satisfy the popular longings for a great free German state, to be governed by and for the people. But what were to be the confines of this new German state? The confederation of 1815 did not include all the German inhabitants of Prussia, and did include the heterogeneous western possessions of Austria, — Bohemia and Moravia, for example, where many of the people were Slavs. There was no hesitation in deciding that all the Prussian territories should be admitted to the new union. As it appeared impossible to leave out Austria altogether, the Assembly agreed to include those parts of her territory which had belonged to the confederation formed in 1815. This decision rendered the task of founding a real German state practically impossible; for the new union was to include two great European powers which might at any moment become rivals, since Prussia would hardly consent to be led forever by Austria. So heterogeneous a union could only continue to be, as it had been, a loose confederation of practically independent princes.

Question of the extent of the proposed German union

Impossibility of a German state which should include both Austria and Prussia

The improbability that the Assembly at Frankfort would succeed in its undertaking was greatly increased by its unwise conduct. Instead of proceeding immediately to frame a new form of government, it devoted several months to the formulation of the general rights of the German citizen. Consequently by the time that the constitution itself came up for discussion, Austria had begun to regain her influence and was ready to

The Assembly at Frankfort gives Austria time to recover

lead the conservative forces once more. She could rely upon the support of the rulers of southern Germany, for they were well satisfied with the old confederation and the independence that it gave them.

The Assembly asks the king of Prussia to become emperor of Germany

In spite of her partiality for the old union, Austria could not prevent the Assembly from completing its new constitution. This provided that there should be an hereditary emperor at the head of the government, and that exalted office was tendered to the king of Prussia. Frederick William IV had been alienated from the liberal cause, which he had at first espoused, by the insurrection in Berlin. He was, moreover, timid and conservative at heart; he hated revolution and doubted whether the National Assembly had any right to confer the imperial title.

Frederick William IV refuses the imperial crown

He also greatly respected Austria, and felt that a war with her, which was likely to ensue if he accepted the crown, would be dangerous to Prussia. So he refused the imperial title and announced his rejection of the new constitution (April, 1849).

The National Assembly disperses and the old diet is restored

This decision rendered the year's work of the National Assembly fruitless, and its members gradually dispersed. Austria now insisted upon the reëstablishment of the old diet and Germany returned once more to its old ways.

Prussia granted a constitution by Frederick William IV (January, 1850)

Yet amid the meager results of the revolution of 1848 there was one gain of great significance for the future of Germany; Prussia emerged from the turmoil of the period with a written constitution which established a legislative assembly and admitted a portion of the people to a share in the government. As we have seen, the news of the revolution in France caused great excitement in Berlin, and the king, fearing a continuance of violence, promised to convoke an assembly to formulate a constitution. This convention met at Berlin in May of the same year, and, amid prolonged debates, advocated many radical measures which displeased the king. It proposed to abolish the nobility and to strike from the royal title the phrase "King by the Grace of God." Meanwhile there was disorder in the quarters occupied by the working class, and on June 14 a mob

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV TAKING OATH TO SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION, FEBRUARY 6, 1850

stormed the arsenal. This situation frightened the king and he withdrew to Potsdam. He then ordered the assembly to adjourn to Brandenburg, and on its refusal, he dissolved it in spite of its protests. After getting rid of the popular assembly, the king, in 1849, submitted a constitution of his own to a more tractable convention of carefully selected subjects. This document, which was promulgated in January, 1850, remains, with some minor changes, the constitution of Prussia to-day.

The Prussian constitution disappoints the liberals

It proved, however, a great disappointment to the liberals, who had hoped for a really democratic form of government. It provides for a ministry, but makes it responsible to the king rather than to the diet. The latter comprises a house of lords — consisting of princes, nobles, life peers selected by the king, representatives of the universities, and burgomasters of the large towns — and a house of deputies.

All men over twenty-five years of age may vote for the electors, who in turn select the deputies to the lower house, but the constitution carefully arranges to give the rich a predominating influence in the election. Those who stand first on the tax list, and pay together one third of the total taxes, are permitted to choose one third of the electors. The second third on the list also choose a third of the electors, and, finally, the great mass of the poorer people, whose small contributions to the treasury make up the remaining third of the revenue, are entitled to cast their votes for the remaining third of the electors assigned to the district. It may happen that a single wealthy man, if he pays a third of the taxes, has as much influence in electing representatives from his district as all the working people combined.

REFERENCES

The Austrian Empire on the Eve of the Revolution of 1848: SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 401–412; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 152–159.

The March Revolution in Austria: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 412–419; PHILLIPS, *European History, 1815–1899*, pp. 273–281; ANDREWS,

Historical Development of Modern Europe, Vol. I, pp. 363–373; HAZEN, pp. 169–180.

Prussia and the Revolution of 1848: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 424–451; PHILLIPS, pp. 282–284; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 379–384.

Revolution and Restoration in Italy: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 335–346; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 384–395.

The Frankfort Assembly and German Unity: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 391–399; ANDREWS, Vol. I, pp. 418–448.

General View of the March Revolution in Europe: FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 707–728; PHILLIPS, pp. 273–292.

Reaction after the Revolution of 1848: FYFFE, pp. 738–823; PHILLIPS, pp. 293–331; HAZEN, pp. 181–186.

CHAPTER XV

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Cavour and Italian Unity

Italy in 1850

50. The efforts of the Italian liberals to expel Austria from the peninsula and establish constitutional governments in the various Italian states had failed, and after the battle of Novara it seemed as if the former political conditions were to be restored. The king of Naples broke all the promises which he had made to his subjects, revoked the constitution which he had granted, and imprisoned, exiled, or in some cases executed the revolutionists. The Pope, with the assistance of France, Austria, Naples, and Spain, was able to destroy the Roman Republic which had been set up, and place the government again in the hands of the ecclesiastics. In northern Italy Austria was once more in control, and she found faithful adherents in the rulers of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, who looked to her for continued support. The leading spirits of the revolution who had escaped prison or death fled to foreign countries to await a more auspicious opportunity to secure their ends, for they did not surrender the hope that Austria would sometime be driven from their country, and all the Italian states brought together in a federation, or perhaps united into a single monarchy or republic.

Divergent views of those intent on unifying Italy

However, those who, since the fall of Napoleon I, had been interested in promoting Italian independence and liberty differed among themselves as to the best way in which to make Italy a nation. There were the republicans, who became more and more disgusted with monarchy and believed that nothing could be accomplished until the various rulers should give way

to a great democratic republic, which should recall the ancient glories of Rome; others were confident that an enlightened Pope could form an Italian federation, of which he should be the head; lastly, there was a practical party, whose adherents placed their hopes in the king of Sardinia, who seemed to them to be the natural leader in the emancipation of Italy. Little as the revolution of 1848 had accomplished, it had at least given Sardinia a young and energetic king and a new constitution.

Mazzini, 1805–1872

Among the republican leaders the most conspicuous was the delicately organized and highly endowed Giuseppe Mazzini. Born in 1805, he had, as he tells us, become a republican from hearing his father discuss the achievements of the French Revolution, and had read eagerly the old French newspapers which he found hidden behind the medical books in his father's library. He joined the secret society of the Carbonari, and in 1830 was caught by the police and imprisoned in the fortress of Savona, west of Genoa. Here he arranged a secret code, which enabled him to keep in communication with the revolutionists.

"Young Italy"

Becoming disgusted with the inefficiency and the silly mystery of the Carbonari, Mazzini planned a new association, which he called "Young Italy." This aimed to bring about the regeneration of Italy through the education of young men in lofty republican principles. Mazzini had no confidence in princes or in foreign aid. He urged that all the Italians should be brought together into a single republic, for he feared that any form of federation would leave the country too weak to resist the constant interference of neighboring nations. Mazzini was not a man to organize a successful revolution, but he inspired the young Italians with almost religious enthusiasm for the cause of Italy's liberation.[1] Still other patriots, however, who dreamed of a new Italy, placed their hopes, not in a republic in which the common man should have a voice in the conduct of the government, but in a federation

[1] For Mazzini's doctrines, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 115 *sqq*.

of princes under that most ancient of all Italian princes, the bishop of Rome.

Progressive government of Victor Emmanuel

The future, however, belonged neither to the republicans nor to the papal party, but to those who looked to the king of Sardinia to bring about the salvation of Italy. Only under his leadership was there any prospect of ousting Austria, and until that was done no independent union could possibly be formed. Practical men therefore began to turn to the young Victor Emmanuel, whose devotion to the cause of freedom in the war with Austria in 1848, and whose frank acceptance of the principles of constitutional government, distinguished him from all the other rulers of Italy. His father, Charles Albert, had granted Piedmont a constitution in 1848, which provided for a parliament with two houses and a responsible ministry. This constitution (which was later to become that of a united Italy) Victor Emmanuel maintained in spite of Austria's demands that he suppress it.

Count Cavour, 1810–1861

Victor Emmanuel was wise enough to call to his aid one of the most distinguished of modern statesmen, Count Cavour, who had long been an advocate both of constitutional government and of Italian unity.[1] Cavour, however, did not believe that unity could be secured without foreign aid, for Sardinia was a rather insignificant kingdom when compared with the more important countries of Europe. It had a population of less than five millions and consisted of four distinct regions which were more or less hostile to one another. In view of this fact Cavour held that it was impossible to disregard the other powers of Europe, who had so long interfered freely in Italian affairs. He early declared, "Whether we like it or not, our destinies depend upon France; we must be her partner in the great game which will be played sooner or later in Europe."

Sardinia joins France in the Crimean War

An opportunity soon offered itself for Sardinia to become the ally of France. The Crimean War[2] had broken out in 1854 between England and France on the one side, and Russia on

[1] *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 119 *sqq.*

[2] See below, pp. 457 *sq.*

the other, and in 1855 Cavour signed an offensive and defensive alliance with France and sent troops to her aid in the Crimea. This gave him an opportunity to take part in the European congress which met in Paris in 1856 to conclude a peace. There he warned the powers that Austrian control in northern Italy was a menace to the peace of Europe, and succeeded in enlisting the interest of Napoleon III in Italian affairs; — it will be remembered that in his younger days the French emperor had sympathized with the Carbonari, and he had a number of Italian relatives who besought his aid in forwarding the cause of Italian unity.

Position and policy of Napoleon III

There were other reasons, too, why Napoleon was ready to consider intervention in Italy. Like his distinguished uncle, he was after all only a usurper. He knew that he could not rely upon mere tradition, but must maintain his popularity by deeds that should redound to the glory of France. A war with Austria for the liberation of the Italians, who like the French were a Latin race, would be popular, especially if France could thereby add a bit of territory to her realms and perhaps become the protector of the proposed Italian confederation. A conference was arranged between Napoleon and Cavour. Just what agreement was reached we do not know, but Napoleon no doubt engaged to come to the aid of the king of Sardinia, should the latter find a pretense for going to war with Austria. Should they together succeed in expelling Austria from northern Italy, the king of Sardinia was to reward France by ceding to her Savoy and Nice, which belonged to her geographically and racially.

Victories of Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III over Austria

By April, 1859, Victor Emmanuel had managed to involve himself in a war with Austria. The French army promptly joined forces with the Piedmontese, defeated the Austrians at Magenta, and on June 8 Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan amid the rejoicings of the people. The Austrians managed the campaign very badly and were again defeated at Solferino (June 24).

VICTOR EMMANUEL'S ENTRANCE TO FLORENCE IN 1860

Napoleon III unexpectedly consents to a truce

Suddenly Europe was astonished to hear that a truce had been concluded and that the preliminaries of a peace had been arranged which left Venetia in Austria's hands, in spite of Napoleon III's boast that he would free Italy to the Adriatic. The French emperor was shocked, however, by the horrors of a real battlefield; he believed, moreover, that it would require three hundred thousand soldiers to drive the Austrians from their strongly fortified Quadrilateral, and he could not draw further upon the resources of France. Lastly he had begun to fear that, in view of the growing enthusiasm which was showing itself throughout the peninsula for Piedmont, there was danger that it might succeed in forming a national kingdom so strong as to need no French protector. By leaving Venetia in the possession of Austria and agreeing that Piedmont should only be increased by the incorporation of Lombardy and the little duchies of Parma and Modena, Napoleon III hoped to prevent the consolidation of Italy from proceeding too far. He had, however, precipitated changes which he was powerless to check. Italy was now ready to fuse into a single state.

Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Romagna request to be annexed to Sardinia (August–September, 1859)

During the months of August and September, 1859, the people in the three duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany declared in favor of the permanent expulsion of their respective rulers and for annexation to the kingdom of Sardinia. An assembly in the Romagna repudiated the temporal rule of the Pope and also expressed the wish to be joined to Sardinia.

Garibaldi, 1807–1882

The king of Naples stubbornly refused either to form any kind of an alliance with the king of Sardinia or to grant his people a constitution. Garibaldi thereupon determined to bring him to terms and prepare the way for the union of southern Italy and Sicily with the expanding Sardinia. This bold sailor, warrior, and ardent revolutionist decided to carry on the work of unifying Italy on his own responsibility, and accordingly set sail from Genoa for Sicily in May, 1860, with a band of a thousand "Red Shirts," as his followers were called

from their rough costume.[1] He gained an easy victory over the few troops that the king of the Two Sicilies was able to send against him, and made himself dictator of the island in the name of Victor Emmanuel. He then crossed over to the mainland, and after a slight skirmish he was received in Naples with enthusiasm on September 6.

Napoleon III intervenes to prevent the annexation of Rome to the kingdom of Italy

Garibaldi now proposed to march on Rome and proclaim the kingdom of Italy from the Quirinal. This would have imperiled all the previous gains, for Napoleon III could not, in view of the strong Catholic sentiment in France, possibly permit the occupation of Rome and the destruction of the political independence of the Pope. He agreed that Victor Emmanuel might annex the outlying papal possessions to the north and reëstablish a stable government in Naples instead of Garibaldi's dictatorship. But Rome, the imperial city, with the territory immediately surrounding it, must be left to its old master. Victor Emmanuel accordingly marched southward and occupied Naples (October). Its king capitulated and all southern Italy became a part of the kingdom of Italy.

In February, 1861, the first Italian parliament was opened at Turin, and the process of really amalgamating the heterogeneous portions of the new kingdom began. Yet the joy of the Italians over the realization of their hopes of unity and national independence was tempered by the fact that Austria still held one of the most famous of the Italian provinces, and that Rome, which typified Italy's former grandeur, was not included in the new kingdom.

The Kingdom of Italy since 1861

Attitude of the Pope toward the new Italian kingdom

51. The fact that Italian unification was not complete did not cause the patriots to lose hope. In a debate in the very first parliament held in the new kingdom of Italy, Cavour directed the thoughts and energies of the nation to the

[1] *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 126.

recovery of the "Eternal City and the Queen of the Adriatic." Meanwhile Pius IX declared that the ruler of Sardinia had forgotten every religious principle, despised every right, trampled every law under foot, and deprived the head of the Church of the most flourishing portions of his legitimate possessions. He therefore excommunicated the king and his ministers and declared the new constitution to be a creation of revolution, which was a thing to be struck down like a mad dog wherever it showed itself. Any temptation, however, that the Italians may have felt to add Rome to the kingdom of Italy was discouraged by the intervention of Napoleon III, who, at the instigation of the French Catholics, sent a French garrison to Rome with a view to protecting the Pope from attack.

How Venetia was added to the kingdom of Italy, 1866

Help, however, soon came from an unexpected quarter. In the early months of 1866 Prussia and Austria were on the eve of war, and in order to gain the support of Italy, Prussia concluded a treaty with Victor Emmanuel in April of that year. When the war came in July the Italians as well as the Prussians attacked Austria. The Italians were worsted in the battle of Custozza, but the Prussians more than made up for this defeat by their memorable victory at Sadowa. Thereupon Austria consented to cede Venetia to Napoleon III, with the understanding that he should transfer it to Italy. The efforts of the Italians to wrest Trent and Trieste from Austria failed, however, for their fleet was defeated, and they were forced to content themselves with Venetia, which they owed rather to the victories of others than to their own.

Rome occupied by the king of Italy, 1870

Four years later, when war broke out between France and Prussia, Napoleon III was forced to withdraw the French garrison from Rome, and Victor Emmanuel, having nothing further to fear from French intervention, dispatched an ultimatum to Pius IX demanding that he make terms with the kingdom of Italy. The Pope refused, whereupon the Italian troops blew open the gates of the city and, without further violence, took possession of Rome, while the Pope withdrew

to the Vatican and proclaimed himself the prisoner of the Italian government. The inhabitants, however, welcomed the invaders, and, by a vote of one hundred and thirty thousand to fifteen hundred, Rome and the remaining portions of the Papal States were formally annexed to the kingdom of Italy in January, 1871.

Rome becomes the capital of the kingdom of Italy, 1871

Italy was at last free and united from the Alps to the sea, and, as King Victor Emmanuel said at the opening of the parliament of 1871, "It only remains to make our country great and happy." The capital was transferred from Florence to Rome in 1871, and the king made his solemn entry into the city, announcing to the people, "We are at Rome and we shall remain here." The Sardinian constitution became the constitution of the kingdom of Italy.

Position of the Pope

It was a difficult problem to determine the relations which should exist between the new government and the head of the Christian Church, who for a thousand years had regarded the city of Rome as his capital. By a law of May, 1871, the Pope was declared to enjoy perfect freedom in all his spiritual functions, and his person was made sacred and inviolable like that of the king. He was to continue to enjoy the honors and dignity of a sovereign prince, and to send and receive diplomatic agents like any other sovereign. Within the trifling domain which was left to him, — the Vatican and Lateran palaces, Castel Gandolfo and the gardens attached to them, — he may live as an independent ruler, since no officer of the Italian government is permitted to enter these precincts on any business of State. In order to indemnify him decently for the loss of his possessions, the Italian government assigned him something over six hundred thousand dollars a year from the State treasury. The Pope, however, has not only always refused to accept this sum, but he persistently declines, down to the present day, to recognize the Italian government, and continues to consider himself the prisoner of a usurping power.[1]

[1] For Pius IX's protest, see *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 136.

ITALY
in 1859
(before the Austro-Sardinian War)

Scale of Miles
0 50 100

Italy becomes a European power

In order to maintain the dignity of her new position, Italy adopted the expensive policy of rapidly increasing her army and navy. Modern warships were constructed, the principle of universal military service was introduced, and the army reorganized on the Prussian model. This nearly doubled the military expenses and served to produce a deficit which amounted in 1887 to $83,000,000. In 1882 the government concluded the famous triple alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary in which the powers guaranteed one another in the possession of their recently acquired territories. Alsace-Lorraine was assured to Germany, Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary, and Rome to Italy.[1]

Italy's colonial policy in Africa

Having secured unity at home, the Italians also turned their attention to winning colonial domains in the region of Abyssinia, near the outlet of the Red Sea. An army of occupation was dispatched thither in 1887, and after some fifteen years of intermittent warfare, treaties, negotiations, and massacres of the Italian troops by the natives, the Italians were able to make themselves masters of an area about twice the size of the state of Pennsylvania, inhabited by half a million of nomad peoples. More recently the Italians have waged war on the Turks for the purpose of securing dominion in northern Africa by the conquest of Tripoli.[2]

Political parties in Italy

It is clear that the old ideals of Cavour and King Victor Emmanuel have been left far behind. The heavy burden of taxation which the Italians have had to bear, in order to play the part of a European power and pay for the very expensive luxury of colonization, has roused deep discontent among the peasants and workingmen. The patriotic feelings which had nerved the people to heroic service in behalf of unity and independence gave way later to a spirit of selfishness in the various provinces, the interests of which were by no means identical, for the conditions in Naples were essentially different from those of Venetia or Piedmont. The republicans, who still

[1] This triple alliance was renewed in 1902. [2] See below, p. 532.

clung to the ideas of Mazzini and Garibaldi, continued to oppose the monarchy, while the ideals of socialism, as elsewhere in Europe, appealed strongly to the workingmen. Lastly there were the defenders of the Pope's political power, who were among the bitterest enemies of the new government.

Progress of Italy

Notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, the kingdom has made remarkable progress during the last generation. Italy is rapidly becoming an industrial state, and to-day more than one third of its population is engaged in manufacturing and commercial pursuits. Silk, cotton, and woolen mills export large quantities of goods to foreign markets.

Improvements in education

Many laws have been passed for the improvement of the public schools, in the hope of diminishing the illiteracy which is a reproach to the kingdom. The republicans and socialists are not satisfied, however, with the amount of money voted for education; they admit that there has been a steady reduction in the number of persons over twenty years of age who are unable to read and write, — from 73 per cent in 1862, to 52 per cent in 1901, — but they contend that it is a disgrace for the nation to spend six or eight times as much a year on the army and navy as it does for the schools.[1]

Burden of taxation

Italy has suffered more from strikes and riots than her neighbors; this is doubtless partly attributable to the fact that the sources of discontent are particularly obvious. In proportion to its wealth, the Italian nation has the largest debt and the heaviest taxation of any country in Europe.[2] There are the land tax, the income tax, the house tax, the inheritance tax, the stamp tax, the excise, the customs duties, in addition to the government monopolies of tobacco, lotteries, salt, and quinine. These are so distributed that the most burdensome of them fall on the workingmen and the peasants, who receive very low

[1] In 1901, 28 per cent of the population of northern Italy over six years of age could not read or write, and in southern Italy, from whence a large proportion of the American immigrants come, 70 per cent were illiterate.

[2] *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 141.

wages, so that it is estimated that the poor pay over one half of the revenue of the government.

The heaviest taxes are imposed on the necessities of life, such as grain and salt; and in times of scarcity this has been a source of serious bread riots in the towns. As for the salt, the government in 1900 was charging eight dollars for a quintal (two hundred and twenty pounds) of salt, which cost it only thirty cents. An Italian economist estimated in 1898 that the family of a Florentine workingman was forced to pay in local and national taxes no less than one fourth of its income, whereas in England the government demanded less than one twentieth of the earnings of a workman in a similar position.

Assassination of King Humbert

Victor Emmanuel died in 1878. His son and successor, Humbert I, although personally courageous and faithful to the constitution, was not the man to undertake the reforms necessary to relieve the prevailing discontent. He was not the controlling factor in the government either for or against reform; nevertheless the anarchists marked him as one of their victims, and on July 29, 1900, he was assassinated while distributing prizes at a great public meeting in Monza. He was succeeded by his son, Victor Emmanuel III, who has continued the general policy of his father.

Emigration from Italy

The discontent continues, and if emigration can be taken as in any sense a measure of it, the year after the assassination of Humbert was a period of exceptional distress. In 1888 Italy lost by emigration one hundred and nineteen thousand subjects; this had increased by 1900 to three hundred and fifty-two thousand, and in 1901 to over half a million. Italy had never come into possession of any of those new territories which her sons, Columbus, Cabot, and Verrazano, had laid claim to in the name of other European nations, and her acquisitions in Africa were entirely uninviting to her discontented peasants and workingmen. Those who leave Italy, therefore, go to foreign lands, — to Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay; while hundreds of thousands settle in the United States. In 1910, however, no less than 147,000 returned from abroad.

This enormous emigration does not appear to relieve the discontent. In 1905 the strength of the socialists became so alarming that Pope Pius X instructed faithful Catholics to aid in the struggle against socialism by taking part in the elections, from which they had hitherto been admonished by the Church to abstain. Indeed it seems not impossible that the Pope may forget his grievance against the Italian State in his anxiety to combat the common enemy. Others, on the contrary, have reached the conclusion that the socialist party is an effective instrument for arousing the more conservative people to undertake important reforms.

REFERENCES

Mazzini and Young Italy: ANDREWS, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 205–213; STILLMAN, *The Union of Italy, 1815–1895*, pp. 44–48; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 159–168.

Piedmont and Cavour: ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 91–114; SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 346–351; STILLMAN, pp. 242–280; CESARESCO, *Cavour* (Foreign Statesmen Series); FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 866–876; HAZEN, pp. 215–225.

Napoleon III and the Italian War: ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 115–129; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 792–796; PHILLIPS, *European History, 1815–1899*, pp. 361–375; STILLMAN, pp. 281–297; FYFFE, pp. 876–884; HAZEN, pp. 225–232.

Establishment of Italian Unity: ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 130–145, 391–405; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 351–359; PHILLIPS, pp. 375–389; STILLMAN, pp. 297–358; FYFFE, pp. 886–908; HAZEN, pp. 232–239.

Development of the Italian Kingdom: ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 405–414; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 359–372; STILLMAN, pp. 359–393; HAZEN, pp. 376–387.

The Government of Italy: LOWELL, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 146–231.

CHAPTER XVI

FORMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN UNION

Prussia assumes the Leadership in Germany

Industrial Revolution in Germany

52. The failure of the liberals to bring about the unity of Germany at the congress at Frankfort in 1848 was largely due to the tenacity with which the numerous German rulers clung to their sovereignty and independence. No fine theories of national union formulated by an assembly of lawyers and professors could destroy the spirit of state sovereignty. However, industry and commerce were silently but surely welding the German people into a nation. In 1835 the first railway line had been built, and the era of steam transportation inaugurated; a network of telegraph lines quickly brought the separate states into close and constant touch with one another; and the growth of machine industry compelled them to seek wider markets beyond their borders. A solid foundation for unity was thus laid by steam, electricity, and machinery, and the development of common interests.

Commercial disadvantages of the division of Germany into practically independent states

Statesmen as well as leaders in commerce and industry began, shortly after the settlement of 1815, to realize the disastrous effects of the existing division of Germany into numerous independent countries. Each of the thirty-eight states had its own customs line, which cut it off from its German neighbors as well as from foreigners. How this hampered trade can be readily seen by examining the map of Germany at that time. One who traveled in a straight line from Fulda to Altenburg, a distance of some one hundred and twenty-five English miles, crossed on the way thirty-four boundary lines and passed through

the dominions of nine sovereign and independent monarchs. A merchants' association complained to the diet of the Confederation in 1819 that in order to trade from Hamburg to Austria, or from Berlin to Switzerland, one had to cross ten states, study ten different customs systems, and pay ten tariff charges.

The customs union (*Zollverein*)

In January, 1834, a *Zollverein*, or tariff union, was formed, which was composed of seventeen states with a combined population of twenty-three millions. Goods were allowed to pass freely from one of these states to another, while the entire group was protected against all outsiders by a common tariff frontier. Austria, after some hesitation, decided not to join this union, but other German states were from time to time compelled by their own interests to do so.

Accession of William I, 1858 (1861)

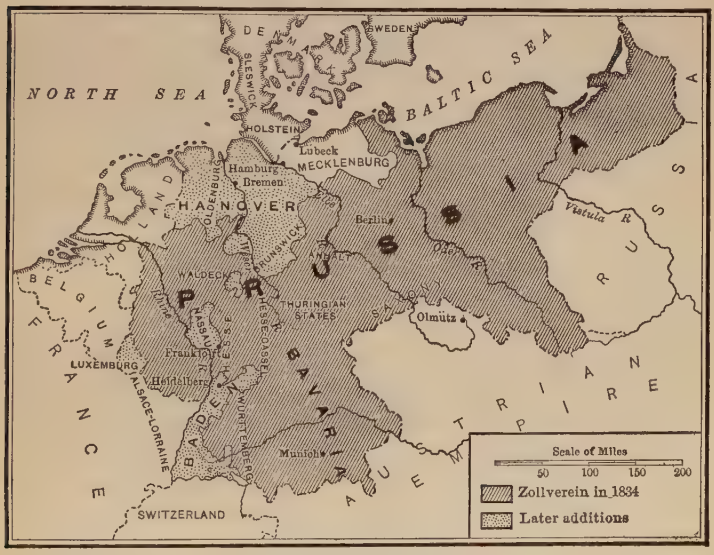
As the center of this commercial reorganization of Germany, Prussia gathered strength for the coming conflict with her great rival, Austria, and with the accession of William I in 1858,[1] a new era dawned for Prussia. A practical and vigorous man was now at the helm, whose chief aim was to expel Austria from the German Confederation, and out of the remaining states to construct a firm union under the leadership of Prussia, which would then take her place among the most powerful nations of Europe. He saw that war must come sooner or later, and therefore made it his first business to develop the military resources of his realms.

The strengthening of the Prussian army

The German army, which owes much of its fame to the reforms of William I, is so extraordinary a feature of Europe to-day that its organization merits attention. Fifty years before, the necessity of expelling Napoleon had led Scharnhorst to revolutionize the military strength of the kingdom by making military service a universal obligation for all healthy male citizens, who were to be trained in the standing army in all the essentials of discipline, and then retired to the reserve, ready

[1] He ruled until 1861 as regent for his brother, Frederick William IV, who had become incapacitated by disease.

for service at need. The first thing that William I did was to increase the annual levy from forty to sixty thousand men, and to see that all the soldiers remained in active service three years. They then passed into the reserve, according to the existing law, where for two years more they remained ready at any time to take up arms should it be necessary. William wished to increase the term of service in the reserve to four years. In this way the State would claim seven of the years of early manhood and



The Zollverein

have an effective army of four hundred thousand, which would permit it to dispense with the service of those who were approaching middle life. The lower house of the Prussian parliament refused, however, to make the necessary appropriations for thus increasing the strength of the army.

The king proceeded, nevertheless, with his plan, and in 1862 called to his side the most commanding figure among the statesmen of modern times, Otto von Bismarck. The new minister

Bismarck and his struggle with the Prussian parliament

conceived a scheme for humiliating Austria and exalting Prussia, which he carried out with startling precision. He could not, however, reveal it to the lower chamber; he would, indeed, scarcely hint its nature to the king himself. In defiance of the lower house and of the newspapers, he carried on the strengthening of the army without formal appropriations, on the theory that the constitution had made no provision in case of a deadlock between the upper and lower house, and that consequently the king, in such a case, might exercise his former absolute power.[1] In one of his first speeches in parliament he said with brutal frankness, "The great questions of the time are to be decided not by speeches and votes of majorities, but by blood and iron." For a time it seemed as if Prussia was returning to a pure despotism, for there was assuredly no more fundamental provision of the constitution than the right of the people to control the granting of the taxes. Yet Bismarck was eventually fully exonerated by public opinion, and it was generally agreed in Germany that the end had amply justified the means.

The Schleswig-Holstein affair

Prussia now had a military force that appeared to justify the hope of victory should she undertake a war with her old rival. In order to bring about the expulsion of Austria from the Confederation, Bismarck took advantage of a knotty problem that had been troubling Germany, known as the Schleswig-Holstein affair. The provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, although inhabited largely by Germans, had for centuries belonged to the king of Denmark. They were not considered a part of Denmark, however, any more than Hanover had been a part of Great Britain. But in 1847 the king of Denmark proclaimed that he was going to incorporate these provinces into the Danish kingdom in spite of the large proportion of Germans in the population. This aroused great indignation throughout Germany. The controversy over the relation of these provinces to Denmark continued, and finally, in 1863, Schleswig was definitely united with the Danish kingdom.

[1] *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 143.

"From this time the history of Germany is the history of the profound and audacious statecraft and of the overmastering will of Bismarck; the nation, except through its valor on the battlefield, ceases to influence the shaping of its own fortunes. What the German people desired in 1864 was that Schleswig-Holstein should be attached, under a ruler of its own, to the German Federation as it then existed; what Bismarck intended was that Schleswig-Holstein, itself incorporated more or less directly with Prussia, should be made the means of the destruction of the existing federal system, and of the expulsion of Austria from Germany. . . . The German people desired one course of action; Bismarck had determined on something totally different; with matchless resolution and skill he bore down all the opposition of people and of the [European] courts, and forced a reluctant nation to the goal which he himself had chosen for it." [1]

Bismarck's audacious plan for the expulsion of Austria from Germany

Bismarck was forty-seven years old when, in 1862, he was called to the presidency of the Prussian cabinet, and he had already won a reputation as a shrewd diplomat and an ardent champion of the Prussian monarchy. He was an aristocrat of the aristocrats, and his policy was akin to that of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century; Germany was to be united not by the will and the coöperation of the German people, but only by the aggrandizement of Prussia and the exaltation of the Prussian king. Firmly believing in the destiny of the German nation and justifying the means by the end, Bismarck proved himself just the leader needed to weld the nation by the heat and violence of war.

Character of Bismarck

War of 1866 and the Formation of the North German Federation

53. Bismarck's first step was to invite Austria to coöperate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty. As Denmark refused to make any concessions, the two powers

The working out of Bismarck's plan

[1] Fyffe, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 936–937.

declared war, defeated the Danish army, and forced the king of Denmark to cede Schleswig-Holstein to the rulers of Prussia and Austria jointly (October, 1864). They were to make such disposition of the provinces as they saw fit. There was now no trouble in picking a quarrel with Austria. In April, 1866, Italy agreed that, should the king of Prussia take up arms during the following three months with the aim of reforming the German union, it too would immediately declare war on Austria, with the hope, of course, of obtaining Venice.[1] The relations between Austria and Prussia grew more and more strained, until finally in June, 1866, Austria induced the diet to call out the forces of the Confederation for the purpose of making war on Prussia. Prussia's representative in the diet declared that this act put an end to the existing union. He accordingly submitted Prussia's scheme for the reformation of Germany and withdrew from the diet.

Prussia declares the German Confederation dissolved, June, 1866

On June 14 war was declared between Austria and Prussia. With the exception of Mecklenburg and the small states of the north, all Germany sided with Austria against Prussia. Bismarck immediately demanded of the rulers of the larger North German states — Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel — that they stop their warlike preparations and agree to accept Prussia's plan of reform. On their refusal, Prussian troops immediately occupied these territories and war actually began.

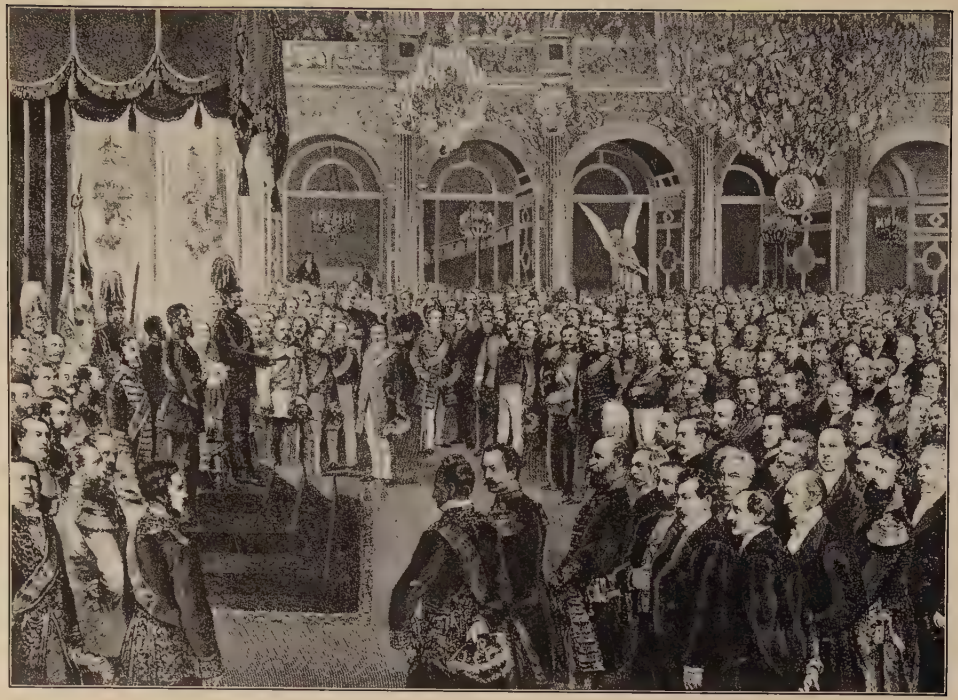
War declared between Austria and Prussia

So admirable was the organization of the Prussian army that, in spite of the suspicion and even hatred which the liberal party in Prussia entertained for the despotic Bismarck, all resistance on the part of the states of the north was promptly prevented; Austria was miserably defeated on July 3 in the decisive battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa,[2] and within three weeks after the breaking off of diplomatic relations the war was practically over. Austria's influence was at an end, and Prussia had won the right to dictate to the rest of Germany.

Prussia wins the battle of Sadowa, July 3, 1866

[1] See above, p. 317.

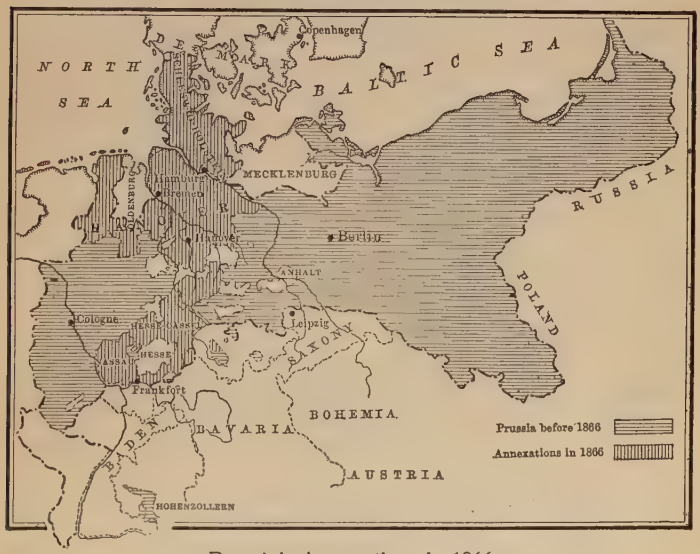
[2] Bismarck's account of the battle is given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 147.



OPENING THE REICHSTAG OF THE NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION

The North German Federation

Prussia was aware that the larger states south of the river Main were not ripe for the union that she desired. She therefore organized a so-called North German Federation, which included all the states north of the Main. Prussia had seized the opportunity to increase considerably her own boundaries and round out her territory by annexing the North German states (with the exception of Saxony) which had opposed her



Prussia's Annexations in 1866

in the war. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort, along with the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, all became Prussian.

Requirements of the proposed constitution

Prussia, thus enlarged, summoned the lesser states about her to confer upon a constitution that should accomplish four ends. First, it must give to all the people of the territory included in the new union, regardless of the particular state in which they lived, a voice in the government. A popular assembly satisfied this demand. Secondly, the predominating position of Prussia

must be secured; but at the same time, thirdly, the self-respect of the other monarchs whose lands were included must not be sacrificed. In order to accomplish this double purpose the king of Prussia was made "president" of the federation but not its sovereign. The chief governing body was the Federal Council (*Bundesrath*). In this each ruler, however small his state, and each of the three free towns — Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck — had at least one vote; thus it was arranged that the other rulers should not become *subjects* of the king of Prussia. The real sovereign of the North German Federation was not the king of Prussia, but "all of the united governments." The votes were distributed as in the old diet, so that Prussia, with the votes of the states that she annexed in 1866, enjoyed seventeen votes out of forty-three. Lastly, the constitution was so arranged that when the time came for the southern states — Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and South Hesse — to join the union, it would be adapted to the needs of the widened empire.

The Franco-Prussian War and the Foundation of the German Empire

Foreign policy of Napoleon III

54. No one was more chagrined by the abrupt termination of the war of 1866 and the victory of Prussia than Napoleon III. He had hoped that both combatants might be weakened by a long struggle, and that in the end he might have an opportunity to arbitrate, and incidentally to gain something for France, as had happened after the Italian war. His disappointment was the more keen because he was troubled at home by the demands of the liberals for reform, and had recently suffered a loss of prestige among his people by the failure of a design for getting a foothold in Mexico.[1] Napoleon was

[1] This Mexican episode is one of the most curious incidents in the checkered career of Napoleon III. He desired to see the Latin peoples of the western world develop into strong nations to offset the preponderance of the Anglo-Saxons in North America; and furthermore, like his uncle, he cherished imperial designs outside of the confines of Europe. What appeared to him to be an excellent

further chagrined by his failure to secure the grand duchy of Luxemburg, which its sovereign, the king of Holland, would have sold to him if it had not been for the intervention of Prussia. In other diplomatic negotiations also it was believed that Napoleon had been outwitted by Bismarck, and a war fever developed both in France and Germany, which was fostered by the sensational press of Paris and Berlin. Frenchmen began to talk about "avenging Sadowa," and the Prussians to threaten their "hereditary enemy" with summary treatment for past wrongs.

Question of the succession to the throne of Spain

In the midst of this irritation a pretext for war was afforded by the question of the Spanish throne then vacant as the result of the expulsion of Queen Isabella in 1868. After the flight of the queen a national Cortes was summoned to determine upon a form of government, and after long deliberations it finally tendered the crown to Leopold of Hohenzollern, a very distant relative of William I of Prussia. This greatly excited the journalists of Paris, who loudly protested that it was only an indirect way of bringing Spain under the influence of Prussia. The French minister of foreign affairs declared that the candidacy was an attempt to reëstablish the empire of Charles V. This belief was entirely unfounded, for, in spite of the apprehensions of the French, the mass of the Spanish people were more anxious

opportunity to build up a Latin empire under his protection was afforded by disorders in Mexico. In the summer of 1861, at the opening of the great Civil War in America, the republic of Mexico suspended payments on its debts. England, France, and Spain made a joint demonstration against Mexico in favor of their subjects who held Mexican bonds. Napoleon then entered into negotiations with some Mexicans who wanted to overthrow the republic, and he offered to support the establishment of an empire if they would choose as their ruler Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Austrian emperor, to which they agreed. Little realizing how few of the Mexican people wanted him for their ruler, Maximilian landed in his new realm in 1864, strongly supported by French troops. As soon as the Civil War in the United States was brought to a close, the American government protested, in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, against foreign intervention in Mexican affairs, and as Napoleon III was in no position to wage war with so formidable a power, he withdrew his soldiers and advised Maximilian to abdicate and return to Europe. The new emperor, however, refused to leave Mexico, and shortly afterwards he was captured and shot (June, 1867). The whole affair cost France a great deal of money and the lives of many soldiers, and discredited Napoleon's ability as a statesman.

to see the restoration of the Bourbon line in the person of Alfonso, the son of Queen Isabella, than they were to have as their ruler Leopold of Hohenzollern, or Amadeus (the son of the king of Italy), who was finally induced in 1870 to accept the crown.[1]

Attitude of France toward candidacy of Leopold of Hohenzollern

But the war parties in France and Prussia were looking for a pretext for a conflict, and consequently the candidacy of Prince Leopold was given an exaggerated importance. In June, 1870, with the consent of the king of Prussia, Leopold accepted the proffered crown; but when the French government protested he withdrew his acceptance, also with the approbation of the Prussian king. The affair now seemed to be closed, but the French ministry was not satisfied with the outcome and demanded that the king of Prussia should pledge himself that the candidacy should never be renewed. This William refused to do, and Bismarck, with gleeful malice,[2] so edited the account given to the German newspapers of the refusal as to make it appear that the French ambassador had insulted King William, and had been rebuffed. This excited the "jingoes" in both countries to a state of frenzy, and although the war party in France was a small minority, that country nevertheless declared war against Prussia on July 19, 1870.

France declares war on Prussia, July 19, 1870

The French minister proclaimed that he entered the conflict with a "light heart," but it was not long before he realized the

[1] Amadeus was an enlightened prince, and endeavored to rule according to the wishes of his new subjects, but he found himself opposed by the Carlists, who supported a grandson of Don Carlos as their candidate; by the clergy, who opposed the new constitution because it granted religious liberty; and by the moderate royalists, who favored placing Isabella's son, Alfonso, on the throne. After little more than two years' experience, Amadeus laid down his crown, and the revolutionists proclaimed a republic (February 12, 1873) which lasted only about a year. At last, in 1875, the crown was given to Isabella's son, who took the title of Alfonso XII, and after a short civil war with the Carlists a new constitution was drawn up in 1876 providing for a parliament of two houses — a senate composed of grandees, appointed dignitaries, and elected persons, and a lower house of representatives chosen by popular suffrage. (By the electoral law of 1890 all male Spaniards twenty-five years of age are entitled to vote.) This is the present constitution of Spain. Alfonso XII died in 1885, and was succeeded by the present king, Alfonso XIII, who was born a few months after his father's death.

[2] For Bismarck's version of the affair, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 158 *sqq.*

GERMAN
EMPI
BOHEMIA
MORAV
BAVARIA
LOWER
AUSTRIA
UPPER
AUSTRIA
SALZBURG
STYRIA
TYROL
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
CROATIA
and
SLAVONI
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Gulf of Venice
Eger R.
Elbe R.
Danube R.
Main R.
Moldau R.
Inn R.
Salzach R.
Enns R.
Raab R.
Mur R.
Drave
Eger
Carlsbad
Prague
Königgrätz
Glatz
Pilsen
Tabor
Olmütz
Brünn
Nuremberg
Budweis
Gmünd
Ulm
Augsburg
Passau
Munich
Linz
Vienna
Schonbrunn
Pressbu
Gmunden
Salzburg
Bregenz
VORARLBERG
LIECHTENSTEIN
Innsbruck
BRENNER PASS
Bad Gastein
GR. GLOCKNER
STYRIAN ALPS
Gratz
Papa
Stuhlwei
SWITZERLAND
RHAETIAN ALPS
Brixen
Botzen
CARNIC ALPS
Klagenfurt
Nagy-K
Trent
TRENTINE ALPS
JULIAN ALPS
Laibach
Gœrz
Trieste
Agram
Lake of Garda
Verona
Padua
Venice
Istria
Fiume
Karlstadt
Mantua
Modena
Bologna
Rimini
Zara
Florence
San Marino
Pisa
Ancona
Livno
Lissa
Longitude
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS

Greenwich
20°
22°
24°
26°
28°
50°
48°
46°
44°
RUSSIA
POLAND
Vistula R.
Cracow
Lemberg
Bug R.
GALICIA
Dniester R.
Stanislau
Pruth R.
Czernowitz
BUKOVINA
CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS
Hernad R.
Gran R.
Theiss R.
Gran
Budapest
Danube R.
Nagy-Karoly
Nagy-Banya
Grosswardein
Klausenburg
TRANSYLVANIA
HUNGARY
Szegedin
Baja
Maria-Theresiopel
Temesvar
Lugos
Hermannstadt
ROTHERTHURM PASS
Kronstadt
RUMANIA
Peterwardein
Weisskirchen
Semlin
Old-Orsova
Belgrade
Danube R.
Drina R.
Bukharest
Sarajevo
SERVIA
NOVIBAZAR
MONTENEGRO
Cettinje
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150

folly of the headlong plunge. The hostility which the South German states had hitherto shown toward Prussia had encouraged Napoleon III to believe that so soon as the French troops should gain their first victory, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden would join him. But that first victory was never won. War had no sooner been declared than the Germans laid all jealousy aside and ranged themselves as a nation against a national assailant. The French army, moreover, was neither well equipped nor well commanded. The Germans hastened across the Rhine and within a few days were driving the French before them. In a series of bloody encounters about Metz, one of the French armies was defeated and finally shut up within the fortifications of the town. Seven weeks had not elapsed after the beginning of the war before the Germans had captured a second French army and made a prisoner of the emperor himself in the great battle of Sedan, September 1, 1870.

Disastrous opening of the war for France

The Germans then surrounded and laid siege to Paris. Napoleon III had been completely discredited by the disasters about Metz and Sedan, and consequently the empire was abolished and France for the third time was declared a republic.[1] In spite of the energy which the new government showed in arousing the nation against the invaders, prolonged resistance was impossible. The capital surrendered on January 28, 1871, after a memorable siege, and an armistice was concluded.

Siege of Paris and close of Franco-Prussian War

In arranging the treaty of peace Bismarck deeply humiliated France by requiring the cession of two French provinces which had formerly belonged to Germany, — Alsace and northeastern Lorraine.[2] In this way France was cut off from the

Cession of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany

[1] See below, Chap. XVIII.

[2] Alsace had, with certain reservations, — especially as regarded Strassburg and the other free towns, — been ceded to the French king by the treaty of Westphalia at the close of the Thirty Years' War. Louis XIV disregarded the reservations and seized Strassburg and the other towns (1681), thus annexing the whole region to France. The duchy of Lorraine had fallen to France in 1766, upon the death of its last duke. It had previously been regarded as a part of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1871 less than a third of the original duchy of Lorraine, together with the fortified city of Metz, was ceded back to Germany.

Rhine, and the crest of the Vosges Mountains was established as its boundary. The Germans further exacted an enormous indemnity for the unjustifiable attack which the French had made upon them. This was fixed at five billion francs, and German troops were to occupy France till it was paid. The French people made pathetic sacrifices to hasten the payment of this indemnity, in order that the country might be freed from the presence of the hated Germans. The bitter feeling of the French for the Germans dates from this war, and the longing for revenge has by no means disappeared. For many years after the war a statue in Paris, representing the lost city of Strassburg, was draped in mourning.

Proclamation of the German Empire, January 1, 1871

The attack of France upon Prussia in 1870, instead of hindering the development of Germany, as Napoleon III had hoped it would, only served to consummate the work of 1866. The South German states,— Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and South Hesse, — having sent their troops to fight side by side with the Prussian forces, consented after their common victory over France to join the North German Federation. By a series of treaties it was agreed, among other things, that the name "North German Federation" should give way to that of "German Empire," and that the king of Prussia, as president of the union, should be given the title of German Emperor. Surrounded by German princes, William, king of Prussia, and president of the North German Federation, was proclaimed German Emperor in the former palace of the French kings at Versailles, January 18, 1871. The long conflict for unity was now at an end; it only remained for Germany to assert its place among the great nations of the world.

Austria–Hungary since 1866

Problems facing Austria in 1866

55. The defeat at Sadowa and the formation of the North German Federation had served to cut off Austria from Germany altogether, and she was left to solve as best she might the problems of adjusting her relations with Hungary, reconciling the

claims of the various races within her borders, and meeting the demands of the liberals for constitutional government and reforms in general.

The Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy established in 1867

An attempt had been made in 1861 to unite all the possessions of Francis Joseph into a single great empire with its parliament at Vienna, but the Hungarians obstinately refused to take part in the deliberations, and, by encouraging the Bohemians, Poles, and Croats to withdraw, brought the plan to naught.

Soon after the defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866 the relations between the Austrian Empire and the kingdom of Hungary were finally settled by a compromise (*Ausgleich*, as the Germans call it).[1] Francis Joseph agreed to regard himself as ruling over two separate and practically independent states: (1) the Austrian Empire, which includes seventeen provinces, — Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Carinthia, Carniola, and the rest; and (2) the kingdom of Hungary, including Croatia and Slavonia. While each of these had its own constitution and its own parliament, one at Vienna, and the other at Pesth, and managed its own affairs under the guidance of its own ministers, the two governments, in dealing with foreign nations, declaring war, and concluding treaties, were to appear as one state, to be called Austria-Hungary. They were to have a common army and navy and to be united commercially by using the same coins, weights, and measures, and agreeing upon a common tariff. Although this particular kind of union between two states was a new thing in Europe, it has so far proved a permanent one.

The government of the Austro-Hungarian dualism consists of a common sovereign, three ministries, and the *Delegations*

In order to manage the affairs common to the two states, their joint monarch appoints three ministers, — of foreign affairs, war, and finance. These ministers are responsible to a curious kind of joint parliament, called the *Delegations*, one of which is chosen by the Austrian parliament, and the other by the Hungarian diet. These Delegations consist of sixty members each and hold their sessions alternately at Vienna and at Pesth,

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 165 *sqq.* for extracts.

in order to avoid all jealousy. They sit as separate bodies, one carrying on its discussions in German and the other in Hungarian, and ordinarily communicate with each other in writing, except in cases of disagreement, when the two Delegations come together and vote as a single body, but without debate.

Continued difficulties due to the mixture of races

The problem of satisfying the various races, with their differing languages and their national aspirations, has been the most characteristic difficulty which both Austria and Hungary have had to face. There were in Austria in 1867, 7,100,000 Germans, 4,700,000 Czechs, 2,440,000 Poles (in Galicia), 2,580,000 Ruthenians (in eastern Galicia), 1,190,000 Slovenians (principally in Carniola), 520,000 Croats (in Dalmatia and Istria), 580,000 Italians (in Trieste and southern Tyrol), and 200,000 Roumanians (in Bukovina). The Germans held that the German town of Vienna, the old seat of the court, was the natural center of all the provinces, and that the German language, since it was spoken more generally than any other in the Austrian provinces and was widely used in scientific and literary works, should be given the preference everywhere by the government. The Czechs and Poles, on their part, longed for their old freedom and independence, wished to use their own language, and constantly permitted their dislike of the Germans to influence their policy in the parliament at Vienna.[1]

Power of the Church reduced in Austria

The three most noteworthy achievements in Austria during the past fifty years have been the establishment of a constitutional system in 1867, the readjustment of the relations between Church and State in 1867–1868, and the extension of the suffrage in 1906. After the settlement of 1867 the German liberal party forced through the Austrian parliament a series of laws which restricted the time-honored prerogatives of the Catholic clergy.[2] Every individual was given the right to choose his own religion and to worship as he pleased. Government

[1] In the newspapers we read of the "Young" Czechs, who agree with the "Old" Czechs in working for Bohemian independence, but are more progressive than their fellow-representatives.

[2] *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 169 *sqq*.

offices and positions in the schools were thrown open to all citizens, regardless of creed; the State, not the Church, was thereafter to manage the schools; civil marriage was instituted for those who did not wish to have a priest officiate at their marriage, as well as for those whom the priests refused to unite. The Pope vigorously condemned the constitutional laws of 1867, which had guaranteed complete religious liberty; the laws of 1868 he pronounced "abominable," and rejected them as null and void. Nevertheless the reforms which Joseph II had striven to introduce before the French Revolution were at last secured.

Question of the suffrage

Austria, like the other European states, has been profoundly affected by the Industrial Revolution. The ever-increasing numbers of workingmen began to urge that the old system of voting, which permitted the richer classes to choose the members of the parliament, should be changed so as to allow the great mass of the people to send representatives to Vienna.[1] At last, in 1906, the suffrage was extended to all males over twenty-four years of age. The first election under the new law took place in May, 1907.[2] The socialists gained over fifty seats, many of which they secured at the expense of the Czechs. But, on the other hand, the conservative clerical party also gained. It remains to be seen whether the various little parties formed on race issues will give way in time to those representing grave economic and social problems such as exist in the other European states.

The Magyars predominate in Hungary

The history of Hungary since 1867 has resembled that of Austria in some respects. The Magyars have, however, been more successful than the Germans in maintaining their supremacy. The population of Hungary proper in 1900 was

1 The system adopted in 1867, according to which the local diets of the provinces elected the deputies, was later abolished, and the right to select the 425 deputies was put into the hands of four classes: the landowners were assigned 85 seats; the chambers of trade and commerce, 21; the towns, 118; the rural districts, 129. The adult males were permitted to choose the remaining 72.

2 *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 171 *sqq*.

about seventeen millions, of which the Magyars formed something over half. Croatia and Slavonia had together less than two and a half millions. In the lower house of the diet four hundred and thirteen deputies are chosen in Hungary, and only forty in Croatia and Slavonia. Magyar is naturally the language chiefly used in the diet, and by government officials, and railway employees, and in the universities. The government encourages the migration of the people to the cities, especially to Budapest, for it is the rapidly growing cities which are the strongholds of the Magyars, and the number of those who speak their language is steadily increasing.

Race discontent in Hungary

Croatia and Slavonia do not consider that they have their proper weight in the national parliament at Budapest. The Servians are discontented, and some of the extremists among them would like to have the region they inhabit annexed to the kingdom of Servia; while the Roumanians look longingly to the independent kingdom of Roumania, of which they feel they should form a part.[1]

REFERENCES

The Zollverein: SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 451–454; ANDREWS, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 252–257; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 147–149.

Bismarck and the Rise of Prussia: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 456–466; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 189–213; PHILLIPS, *Modern History*, pp. 390–407; FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 909–920; HAZEN, pp. 240–256.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question and Dissolution of the Confederation: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 466–472; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 213–252; PHILLIPS, pp. 407–448; FYFFE, pp. 934–963; HAZEN, pp. 256–268.

Formation of the North German Federation: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 472–481; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 252–261; HAZEN, pp. 268–271.

The Establishment of the Empire: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 482–484; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 261–277; PHILLIPS, pp. 449–485; FYFFE, pp. 968–1010; HAZEN, pp. 303–306.

[1] For the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina see below, p. 517.

Formation of Austria-Hungary: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 518–529; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 278–296; LEGER, *History of Austria-Hungary*, pp. 572–588; HAZEN, pp. 388–396.

Political Development of Austria-Hungary: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 529–553; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 415–435; LEGER, pp. 589–637; HAZEN, pp. 396–405.

The Government of Austria and Hungary: LOWELL, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 70–179.

Spain after the Revolution of 1820: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 293–308; HAZEN, pp. 564–569.

The Spanish Revolution of 1868: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 308–315.

The Reëstablishment of the Spanish Monarchy: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 315–325; HAZEN, pp. 569–575.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The German Constitution

The constitution of the German Empire

56. It will be remembered that the constitution of the North German Federation had been drawn up in 1866 with the hope that the southern states, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and South Hesse, would later join the union; consequently little change was necessary when the empire was established four years later. The title of German Emperor (*Deutscher Kaiser*) was bestowed on King William I of Prussia and his successors, but it did not carry with it any authority which he had not enjoyed as president of the North German Federation. In the empire, as in the federation, the sovereignty is not vested in the ruler, but in the *Bundesrath*, or Federal Council, which is made up of representatives of the twenty-two monarchs and the three free cities included in the union.[1] The emperor does not possess the right to veto laws passed by the imperial parliament, but nevertheless he exercises many of the powers which would naturally fall to a monarch. He appoints and dismisses the imperial chancellor, — the chief minister of the empire, — as well as other imperial officials. Though he cannot declare an offensive war without the consent of the Bundesrath, he commands the unconditional obedience of all German soldiers and sailors, and appoints the chief officers in the army and all those in the navy.[2]

The Bundesrath, or Federal Council

The Bundesrath, like the Senate of the United States, represents the various states of the union. Unlike the American

[1] See above, pp. 329 *sq.*

[2] As king of Prussia the emperor controls seventeen votes in the Bundesrath, which would usually enable him to block measures which he disapproves.

system, the various states in the German union are not given equal representation in the Bundesrath; Prussia, which includes more than one half of the territory and population of the empire, sends seventeen delegates, Bavaria six, Saxony four, Würtemberg four, Baden and Hesse three each, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick two each, and all the others one each. The free cities and Alsace-Lorraine are also represented in the Bundesrath.[1]

The *Reichstag*, or House of Representatives

The democratic element in the government is the *Reichstag*, or House of Representatives, which consists of about four hundred members distributed among the various states according to their population. The constitution provides that every German citizen twenty-five years of age may vote for members of the Reichstag. The representatives are elected for a term of

[1] Composition of the German Empire

Names of the States	Population in Dec. 1, 1910 (in Round Numbers)	Number of Members in the Bundesrath	Present Number of Representatives in the Reichstag
Kingdom of Prussia	40,100,000	17	236
Kingdom of Bavaria	6,800,000	6	48
Kingdom of Saxony	4,800,000	4	23
Kingdom of Würtemberg	2,400,000	4	17
Grandduchy of Baden	2,100,000	3	14
Grandduchy of Hesse	1,200,000	3	9
Grandduchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin	639,000	2	6
Grandduchy of Saxe-Weimar	417,000	1	3
Grandduchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz	106,000	1	1
Grandduchy of Oldenburg	482,000	1	3
Duchy of Brunswick	494,000	2	3
Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen	278,000	1	2
Duchy of Saxe-Altenburg	216,000	1	1
Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	257,000	1	2
Duchy of Anhalt	331,000	1	2
Principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	89,000	1	1
Principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	100,000	1	1
Principality of Waldeck	61,000	1	1
Principality of Reuss, elder line	72,000	1	1
Principality of Reuss, junior line	152,000	1	1
Principality of Schaumburg-Lippe	46,000	1	1
Principality of Lippe	150,000	1	1
Free town of Lübeck	116,000	1	1
Free town of Bremen	298,000	1	1
Free town of Hamburg	1,015,000	1	3
Imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine	1,800,000	3	15
Total (details added)	64,903,423	61	397

five years, but the house may at any time be dissolved by the emperor with the consent of the Bundesrath. Members of the Reichstag, under a law of May, 1906, are paid for their services.

The chancellor

The chief minister of the empire is the chancellor, who is appointed by the Kaiser from among the Prussian delegates in the Bundesrath and may be dismissed by him at will without regard to the rise and fall of parties in the Reichstag. The chancellor is not bound by any resolutions or votes of the Reichstag; he is entirely at the command of the emperor from whom alone he derives his authority. He presides over the Bundesrath, appoints the federal officers in the name of the emperor, and supervises the discharge of their duties.

No cabinet system in the German Empire

In short, Germany has never introduced the cabinet system of government which prevails in other European countries.[1] The Kaiser exercises, through the chancellor, and in view of his position as king of Prussia, a power unrivaled by any of the constitutional rulers of Europe; and the Reichstag serves rather as a critic of, and a check on, the government than as the directing force.

Necessity of uniform laws for the whole empire

When German unity was finally achieved in 1871 by the formation of the empire, the new nation was very much in the position of the United States after the adoption of the constitution in 1789. A federation had been entered into by states bound together by ties of a common race and language, but its permanence was by no means assured. The various German rulers were zealous in safeguarding their dignity and their own particular rights, and they were not altogether pleased with the preëminence assumed by the king of Prussia. Each commonwealth had its own traditions as an independent state,[2] its own peculiar industrial interests, and its own particular form of government. Realizing that the new union might not bear the

[1] See below, p. 513. See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 176 *sqq.*, for Bismarck's view.

[2] As a concession to the feelings of the previously sovereign states of southern Germany, the constitution assures them a few special rights. The most important of these is the special postal system which both Bavaria and Würtemberg are permitted to maintain.

continued strain of these disruptive tendencies, the imperial government undertook to establish stronger national ties through the introduction of uniform laws for the whole German people, to supplant the diverse laws of the various commonwealths.

Powers of the imperial government

The leadership in this nationalizing movement fell naturally to Bismarck, chancellor of the empire and president of the Prussian ministry. Fortunately for him, the constitution conferred on the imperial legislature wide powers in regulating matters which in the United States are reserved entirely to the states. The imperial parliament is authorized to regulate commerce and intercourse between the states and with foreign nations, to coin money, fix weights and measures, control the banking system, the railways, telegraph, and post office, besides other general powers. But, more than this, the federal government in Germany is empowered by the constitution to make uniform throughout the empire the criminal and civil law, the organization of the courts, and judicial procedure, whereas in the United States each state defines crimes, regulates the form of contracts, and so forth.

Imperial legislation

The parliament at once set to work to carry into effect the important powers conferred upon it. In 1873 a uniform currency law was passed, and the bewildering variety of coins and paper notes of the separate states was replaced by a simple system of which the *mark* (about twenty-five cents) is the basis. The new coins bore on one side the effigy of the emperor, and on the other the arms of the empire, "to preach to the people the good news of unity." In 1871 a uniform criminal code was introduced; in 1877 a law was passed regulating the organization of the courts, civil and criminal procedure, bankruptcy, and patents; and from 1874 to 1887 a commission was busy drafting the civil code which went into effect in 1900.

Although the champions of states' rights looked with disfavor upon Bismarck's policy of strengthening the imperial government and making uniform laws for the whole empire, the most significant opposition came from the Catholics, who feared the

growing influence of Protestant Prussia. At the first imperial elections in 1871 the Catholics returned sixty-three members to Parliament, and in this the chancellor saw, or pretended to see, a conspiracy of clerical forces against the state. At all events, he began a war on the Catholics known as the Kulturkampf, or "war in defense of civilization," by legislation expelling the Jesuits and other religious societies and imposing penalties upon the clergy for any criticism of the government.[1] This was followed by other harsh legislation in Prussia; and the Pope and German clergy in general were moved to resist Bismarck's anti-clerical policy. Instead of submitting, the Catholics were welded into a strong political party which elected ninety-one members to the Reichstag in 1874.

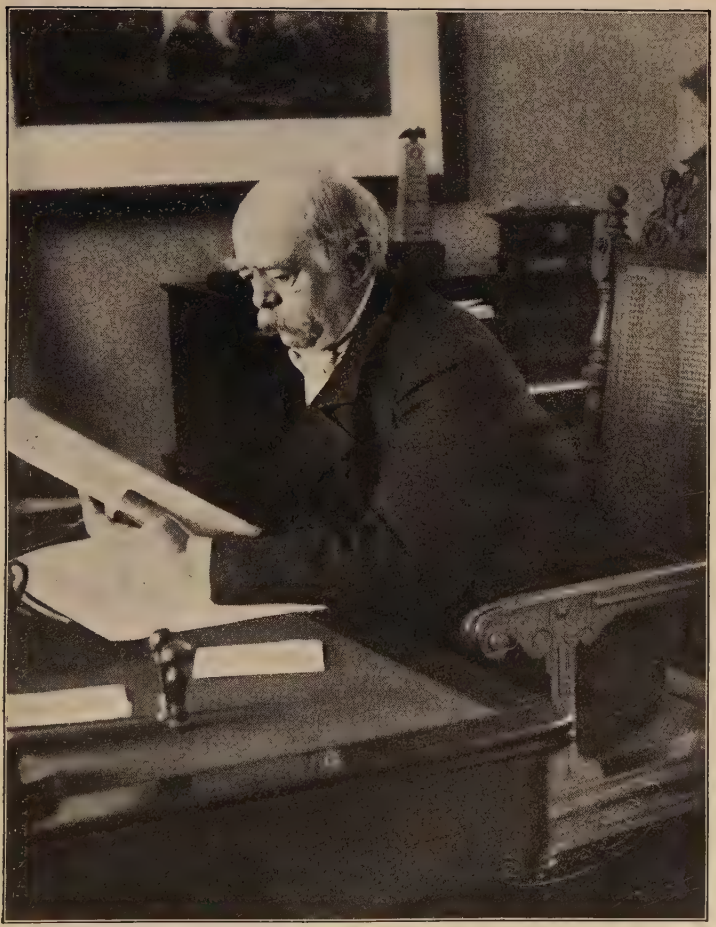
Finding the Catholic opposition growing stronger, and discovering a new danger to his policy in the rapid rise of a socialistic party, Bismarck came to terms with the Church, repealed nearly all of the measures directed against the clergy, and established cordial relations with the Vatican. The Catholic political party — whose representatives in the Reichstag are called the Center — was not, however, broken up by the reversal of the government policy; and the attempt to destroy the socialist party, which Bismarck was now free to make, proved no more successful.

Bismarck and State Socialism

Beginnings of socialism in Germany

57. The socialist party had grown up in Germany practically within Bismarck's own time. In 1842 a German professor had declared that Germany had nothing to fear from that movement since the country had no distinct working class. But within less than a quarter of a century Germany, like England and France, underwent a radical industrial revolution. Large manufacturing towns sprang up; railways were built; the working classes inevitably combined to protect and advance their own interests; and all the problems of capital and labor were suddenly thrust upon the German people.

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 183.



BISMARCK

Karl Marx

The socialist view of the labor problems and their solution had been elaborated by a German scholar, Karl Marx, before the revolution of 1848,[1] but it was not until nearly twenty years later that a party championing his doctrines entered German politics. Under the leadership of Lassalle, a radical thinker and a brilliant orator, a General Workingmen's Association was formed at a labor congress in Leipzig in 1863. After more than a year's vigorous agitation Lassalle had, however, mustered less than five thousand members for his association, and he was thoroughly discouraged when he met his end in a duel over a love affair in 1864.

Lassalle

The social democrats organize in 1869

Notwithstanding the death of Lassalle, the campaign which he had begun continued to be prosecuted with greater vigor than before, although by no means all of the workingmen believed in his programme. Some of the more radical among them, under the influence of the teachings of Marx, founded at Eisenach, in 1869, a new association, which bore the name of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Germany. The two groups worked side by side until 1875, when, at a general labor congress held at Gotha, they combined and issued an important statement of the views and purposes of the party. In the elections of that year for the Reichstag the socialists polled three hundred and forty thousand votes and began to arouse the apprehension of the government, which was naturally suspicious of them.

Bismarck determines to crush out socialism, 1878

Bismarck resented the attitude of the socialists, and after two attempts had been made upon the life of the emperor, which he ascribed without justification to socialist conspiracies, he had a law passed in 1878 designed to suppress socialistic agitation altogether. It prohibited meetings, publications, and associations having for their purpose "the subversion of the social order" or the promotion of socialistic tendencies dangerous to the public peace, and authorized the government to proclaim martial law in any city threatened by labor disturbances. This repressive

[1] See above, p. 278.

law remained in force for twelve years and completely disorganized the party as far as national politics were concerned. It failed, however, in accomplishing its full purpose, for the socialists continued to form local societies in spite of the precautions of the police, and to spread their doctrines by secret propaganda in the factories and the army and by means of papers smuggled in principally from Switzerland.[1]

Origin of the "state socialist" party

While these attempts were being made to suppress the social democrats, there was growing up in Germany a new school of political economists known as "state socialists," who maintained that the government should adopt a number of the socialistic schemes for the benefit of the working classes in order to remove the causes of their discontent. The practical proposals of the state socialists were exceedingly numerous. They advocated providing steady employment for the working classes, reduction of the hours of labor, improvement of the sanitary and moral conditions in factories, restriction of the labor of women and children, and adequate precautions against accidents and sickness. They proposed to equalize the distribution of wealth by taxing those whose incomes were derived from rents, interest, or speculation, and favored government ownership of railways, canals, and all means of communication and transport, water and gas works, a large portion of the land within city limits, markets, and the business of banking and insurance.

Attitude of Bismarck toward socialism and the working classes

Bismarck himself took a deep interest in the theories of the state socialists, and from 1878 to the close of his administration he advocated a number of reforms for the benefit of the working people and carried out a few of them. In undertaking these measures he frankly admitted that he was only renewing the old Brandenburg policy of paternal interest in the welfare of the people and in increasing the power and prosperity of the State. He accepted the capitalist system of industry and the division of society into rich and poor as a natural and permanent arrangement, but considered it the duty of the State to

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 185 *sqq.*

better the condition of the working people by special laws, as well as to encourage industry by protective tariffs.

State insurance in the interest of the working classes

He looked upon certain reforms in favor of the working classes as the best means of undermining the influence of the socialists. In 1882 the government introduced two bills providing for accident and sickness insurance, which were given their final form after two years of deliberation and went into effect in 1885. According to the provisions of the first law, employers are obliged to provide a fund to insure their employees against accidents. From this fund the workmen are compensated when partially or totally disabled, and in case of death provision is made for the family of the deceased. The sickness insurance law compels working men and women to insure themselves against sickness, but helps them to bear the burden by requiring the employer to pay a portion of the premium and to be responsible for carrying out the law.

Accident and sickness insurance

Insurance for the aged and incapacitated

These measures were supplemented in 1889, after the accession of the present Kaiser, by an old-age insurance law which compels every workman with an income under five hundred dollars a year to pay a certain proportion into a state fund which provides an annual pension for him after he has reached the age of seventy years. In case he is incapacitated earlier in life he may begin to draw the pension before he reaches that age. As in other forms of workingmen's insurance, the employers pay a portion of the premium; and the State also makes a regular contribution to every annuity paid.[1] In 1909 over twelve million persons were insured under these laws.

These three measures constitute the main results of Bismarck's policy of aiding the workingman, for notwithstanding an early promise of the present emperor, no substantial addition has been made to imperial labor legislation since 1889. Moreover these measures have failed to accomplish the purpose which Bismarck particularly had at heart, — that of checking the socialist influence.

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 189 *sqq*.

Germany's Policy of Protection and Colonization

Demand for protection of German industries

58. Closely connected with Bismarck's paternal attitude toward the working classes was his policy of protecting German industries against foreign competition. The successful war with France, the establishment of the empire, and, above all, the payment of the French indemnity had created a great "boom" in Germany. New enterprises multiplied; in Prussia alone the number of joint-stock companies increased from 410 in 1870 to 2267 in 1874; wages rose rapidly and times were "good" until the inevitable reaction due to overspeculation set in. Prices and wages then began to fall, companies failed, and factories closed. The manufacturers then commenced to demand that they be protected from foreign competition, and the farmers asked that high duties be placed upon the grain that was being shipped into the country from the United States and Russia. It was urged that the German "infant" industries (of which we have heard so much in the United States) could not maintain themselves without aid when rival nations, especially England, were so much better equipped with machinery, experience, and natural resources.

Bismarck's views of protection

Bismarck, who had formerly seemed to favor free trade, declared in the Reichstag that he was convinced that it would never be universally adopted by the nations of the earth, as some economists hoped. Even England, he argued, could not continue her free-trade policy. "Both France and America have completely forsaken free trade; Austria, instead of reducing her protective duties, has increased them; Russia has done the same. . . . Therefore no one can expect Germany to remain permanently the victim of its sincere belief in the theory of free trade. Hitherto we have thrown our doors wide open to foreign goods and so have made our country the dumping ground for all the overproduction of other countries. . . . Let us close the door and erect the somewhat higher barriers that are proposed,

Longitude East 12° fro
NORTH SEA
HELGOLAND
Copenhagen
Schleswig
Kiel Bay
FEHMARN
Kiel
Lubeck Bay
Cuxhaven
Lubeck
MECKLENB
Schwerin
Altona
Hamburg
Harburg
Elbe
Oldenburg
Bremen
Weser
Zuider Zee
Amsterdam
The Hague
Hanover
Schaumburg-Lippe
Osnabrück
Brunswick
Hildesheim
Magdeb
Münster
Lippe
Detmold
BRUNS
Halberstadt
Bernburg
Westphalia
Essen
Dortmund
Nordhausen
Krefeld
Düsseldorf
Barmen
Cassel
Waldeck
Mühlhausen
Brussels
BELGIUM
Cologne
Mülheim
Rhine
Aachen
Bonn
Prov.
Hesse
Nassau
Erfurt
Gotha
THURINGIA
Coblenz
Frankfort
Hanau
Coburg
Wiesbaden
Mayence
Darmstadt
Sedan
LUXEMBURG
Treves
Luxemburg
Worms
Mannheim
Würzburg
Bamberg
Bayreuth
Reims
Kaiserslautern
Palatinate
(To Bavaria)
Heidelberg
Fürth
Nuremberg
Metz
Wörth
Karlsruhe
Heilbronn
Pforzheim
Nancy
Strassburg
Stuttgart
WÜRTEMBERG
Ulm
Augsburg
Hohenzollern
Freiburg
Munich
Belfort
Mülhausen
Constance
Lake of Constance
Basel
SWITZERLAND
Tyrol
FRANCE
ALSACE
LORRAINE
BADEN
HESSE
BAVARIA
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS

THE GERMAN EMPIRE
since 1871
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 150
THURINGIAN STATES
1. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen
2. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
3. Saxe-Weimar
4. Saxe-Altenburg
5. Saxe-Meiningen
6. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt
7. Reuss, Older Line
8. Reuss, Junior Line
ALTIC SEA
BORNHOLM
RÜGEN
USEDOM I.
WOLLIN I.
Stettin
Berlin
Frankfort
Guben
Kottbus
Bautzen
Görlitz
Zittau
Dresden
Lieguitz
Breslau
Schweidnitz
Oppeln
Neisse
Ratibor
Cracow
Sadowa
Königgrätz
Prague
Vienna
Danube
Stolp
Danzig
Gulf of Danzig
Elbing
Königsberg
Tilsit
Memel
Allenstein
Graudenz
Bromberg
Thorn
Posen
Warsaw
Vistula
Netze
Warta
Oder
Elbe
Pregel
Bug
Galicia
Moravia
Bohemia
Poland
Russia
Posen
Silesia
Pomerania
West Prussia
East Prussia
Saxonia
Austria-Hungary
14°
16°
18°
20°
22°
54°
52°
50°
48°

and let us see to it that we secure at any rate the German market for the German manufacturers."

Germany establishes a protective system in 1879

It was under these circumstances that the imperial chancellor presented to the Reichstag in 1878 a programme of tariff revision embodying two main points: (1) protective duties designed to give German industries the advantage over foreign producers; (2) a reduction of duties on raw materials not produced within the empire. In the following year the Reichstag adopted the new tariff laws by a large majority and thus initiated a system under which Germany has become one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world.

African colonization

German manufacturers were, however, not satisfied with securing preference over foreign competitors in their domestic trade; they soon began to demand government aid in finding new markets abroad. In spite of many misgivings about the ultimate value of distant colonies peopled by barbarous races, Bismarck was induced to take steps toward the acquisition of territory in Africa.

Togoland and Kamerun

He sent out Dr. Gustav Nachtigal in 1884 for the purpose of establishing German control at certain points along the western coast of Africa. In a short time the German agent had induced native chiefs to acknowledge a German protectorate over two large provinces, Togoland in Upper Guinea, a region about the size of the state of Indiana, and Kamerun, adjoining the French Congo, — in all an area of over two hundred thousand square miles.[1] In the same year Herr Luederitz, a Bremen merchant, acting under orders from Bismarck, raised the German flag at Angra Pequena (a point on the west coast a short distance above the English possessions at the Cape), where German merchants and traders had been active for some time. Within a few years the German government carved out a block of territory estimated at over three hundred and twenty thousand square miles, an area far greater than that of the entire German Empire. This colony bears the name of German

[1] See map of Africa below, p. 492.

Southwest Africa, but its entire European population is less than fifteen thousand.

German East Africa

Even larger territories were secured by Germany in East Africa. In 1884 the Society for German Colonization sent Dr. Karl Peters to determine what could be done in that region. The sultan of Zanzibar was induced in 1888 to lease a narrow strip of territory over six hundred miles long to the Germans, and in two years transferred all his rights to the German Empire for a million dollars. The few German settlers then established plantations of cocoa palms, coffee, vanilla, tobacco, caoutchouc, sugar, tea, etc., and the government founded several experiment stations for determining the possibilities of profitable agriculture.[1]

Reign of William II

Accession of William II, 1888

59. With the accession of the present emperor, William II,[2] in 1888, Prince Bismarck lost his power. He had been implicitly trusted by the old Kaiser, William I, who had been content to leave the practical management of the empire largely in the hands of the chancellor. The new emperor proved a very different man. He was fond of making speeches[3] in which he had much to say of the power which God had given him; indeed, he seemed to be a stout adherent of that conception of kingship which Bossuet extracted from the Holy Scriptures

[1] About the same time German agents found their way into the Pacific and occupied a region in New Guinea to which the name of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land was given. The Caroline Islands (except Guam, which belongs to the United States) and a part of the Solomon group were also acquired. German merchants and investors are also developing railways in Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia with a view of opening up the natural resources. Their activities in Morocco brought them into conflict with the French, who believed that they possessed special rights there, and for a time there was talk of war, but matters were adjusted in 1906 at a congress of European powers held at Algeciras on the Strait of Gibraltar and later (in 1911) by a special arrangement between France and Germany.

[2] William II is the eldest son of Frederick III (who succeeded his father, William I, in March, 1888, and died in June of the same year) and of Victoria, the daughter of Queen Victoria of England.

[3] See the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 193 *sqq.*, 198 *sqq.*

and urged upon the willing Louis XIV.[1] On his accession to the throne he expressed himself as follows: "Summoned to the throne of my fathers, I have taken up the reins of government, looking for aid to the King of kings. I have sworn to God to follow the example of my fathers and be to my people a just and firm ruler, to nurture piety and the fear of God, to cherish peace, and to be a helper of the poor and oppressed, and a faithful guardian of justice."

Bismarck resigns, March, 1890

Dropping the Pilot[2]

It is not strange that Bismarck, who, with firm hand, keen vision, and unswerving devotion, had guided the ship of state through troubled waters for over a quarter of a century, should have found it hard to tolerate the intervention of the inexperienced young emperor. In March, 1890, he presented his resignation, and, amid a great demonstration of popular feeling, the "Iron Chancellor," the most extraordinary statesman Germany has ever produced, retired to private life. He had assumed no responsibility for the policies of William II, and may have cherished some bitterness against him. At any rate, after his death in 1898 these simple words were carved upon his tomb, "Here lies Prince Bismarck, a faithful servant of Emperor William I."

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 5 *sqq*.

[2] Caricature from *Punch*, 1890.

Upon the announcement of Bismarck's resignation, William II declared, "I am as much afflicted as if I had lost my grandfather anew, but we must endure whatever God sends us, even if we should have to die for it. The post of officer of the quarterdeck of the ship of state has fallen to me. The course remains unchanged. Forward, with full steam!"

Attitude of William II toward socialism

For a time it seemed as if William II proposed to conciliate the socialist party, although he could not possibly have had any real sympathy with its aims. The legislation against the socialists which Bismarck had inaugurated in 1878 was allowed to lapse in 1890, and they now carried on their agitation openly and with vigor and success. The emperor pledged himself to continue the social legislation begun by his grandfather, since he deemed it one of the duties of the State to relieve poverty; and he declared that the welfare of the workingman lay close to his heart. Irritated, however, at his failure to check the expression of discontent on the part of the working classes, he grew angry and pronounced the social democrat as "nothing better than an enemy of the empire and his country." Of late the emperor has had less to say about helping the workingman, but he watches with no little uneasiness the steady increase of the number of socialist voters.[1]

Germany in the Far East

United Germany, like united Italy, had embarked on a colonial policy, and William II has shown himself very ready to participate in world politics. At the close of the war between China and Japan, in 1895, he joined with Russia and France in preventing Japan from occupying the Liaotung peninsula. Two years later the Germans seized the port of Kiauchau on the Shantung peninsula opposite Korea.

Doubtful value of Germany's experiments in colonization

Notwithstanding Germany's extensive colonial dominion and commercial adventures in the Far East, the whole enterprise has been of doubtful value. None of the lands acquired are really suitable for settlement by German people who wish

[1] See table below, p. 353, note.

to emigrate from the fatherland,[1] and there is a steadily increasing expenditure for new battleships and the maintenance of troops in the colonies. Especially in Africa, the native races under the German flag are very warlike, and in 1905–1906 the government spent the sum of nine million dollars in suppressing local uprisings, while the value of the exports and imports of the provinces scarcely exceeded two million dollars. The whole question therefore remains one of the most hotly contested in German politics and was made the leading issue in the elections for the Reichstag in 1907, when a majority was returned in favor of continuing the existing imperial policy.

Sources of dissatisfaction on the part of the liberals and socialists

However, both the colonial policy and the system of autocratic government represented by the Kaiser are not without powerful opponents, for in spite of the fact that the imperial government is founded on a written constitution and the Reichstag is elected by popular vote, the German government is the least democratic in western Europe. The emperor is not controlled by a ministry representing the majority in parliament, and public criticism of the government is liable to cause the arrest and imprisonment of the offender. Furthermore, the Reichstag can scarcely be regarded as really representing the views of the nation.[2] The government has refused to revise the apportionment of representatives as it was arranged in 1871, although great changes have taken place since that year. As a result Berlin, for instance, has only six members in the Reichstag, although its population of two million inhabitants would entitle it to twenty. This accounts

[1] In 1910 there were only 340 Germans in Togoland, 1132 in Kamerun, about 10,000 in German South West Africa, and 2700 in East Africa.

[2] The steady increase of socialism is shown by the following table:

Year of election	Socialist votes	Members elected	Year of election	Socialist votes	Members elected
1877	493,288	12	1903	3,008,000	81
1881	311,961	12	1907	3,251,009	43
1887	763,000	11	1912	4,250,300	110
1890	1,497,298	36			

for the relatively small number of socialists and the large number of conservatives in the parliament, for in 1907 the socialists, although they could muster 3,250,000 voters, returned only 43 members, whereas the conservatives secured 83 seats with less than 1,500,000 supporters, mainly in the country districts. In the elections of 1912 the socialists made large gains in spite of the unequal distribution of seats.

There is no large liberal party in Germany to advocate the more democratic principles of responsible ministers, equal electoral districts, and retrenchment in military expenditures; consequently the chief opposition to the methods of William II comes from the socialist party which steadily grows in numbers and in the effectiveness of its organization. It stoutly resists any increase in expenditure for colonial purposes, favors international peace, and scorns the "divine right" theories of the emperor. Whether it will be possible for the German government to continue to adhere to its present methods in the face of the rising tide of democracy all over the world remains for the future to decide.[1]

REFERENCES

The Government of Germany: LOWELL, *Governments and Parties in Continental Countries*, Vol. II, pp. 1–8.

Development of Parties in Germany: LOWELL, Vol. II, pp. 9–69.

The Kulturkampf: SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 491–496; ROSE, *Development of Modern European Nations*, Vol. I, pp. 164–168; ANDREWS, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 370–375; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 306–310.

The Conflict with the Socialists: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 496–498; DAWSON, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*, pp. 247–278; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 375–378; HAZEN, pp. 312–315.

[1] For more recent political developments in Germany, see below, chap. xxiv.

Bismarck and Social Reform: ROSE, Vol. I, pp. 178–183; DAWSON, *Bismarck and State Socialism*, pp. 23–36, 72–127; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 378–381; HAZEN, pp. 315–318.

Bismarck and Tariff Reform: DAWSON, pp. 47–61; ROSE, Vol. I, pp. 168–178.

The Establishment of the Colonial Empire: DAWSON, pp. 145–155; ROSE, Vol. II, pp. 235–263.

William II: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 502–510; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 383–390; HAZEN, pp. 322–328.

CHAPTER XVIII

FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

Establishment of the Third French Republic

The third French Republic proclaimed, September 4, 1870

60. On September 3, 1870, Napoleon III telegraphed from Sedan to Paris, "The army is defeated and captured, and I am a prisoner."[1] This meant an immediate collapse of the empire which he had established some twenty years before. The Chamber of Deputies was invaded by a mob shouting for the republic, and a motion was made to dethrone Napoleon and his dynasty. Next day Gambetta and the deputies representing the city of Paris betook themselves to the old revolutionary storm center, the City Hall, and there proclaimed the reëstablishment of a republic. This was sanctioned by an overwhelming majority of the Parisians. Meanwhile other large cities, such as Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Lyons, took similar action.

The Germans invade France and lay siege to Paris

The terrible defeat at Sedan and the capture of the emperor did not, as we know, bring the war to a close. The German invaders pressed on; city after city was taken; the strongly fortified Strassburg fell at the end of September after a terrific bombardment, and the fortress of Metz a month later. Paris itself was surrounded by an immense German army, and the king of Prussia took up his quarters at Versailles. Gambetta, the energetic republican leader, escaping from Paris in a balloon, floated safely over the lines of the besieging Germans and reached Tours. Here he invoked the memories of 1793 and sought to organize a national army of volunteers; but the raw French battalions were easily defeated by the disciplined German

[1] After the conclusion of peace between France and Germany the Germans set Napoleon III free and he retired to England, where he died in 1873.

regiments which had been set free by the surrender of Metz. In January, 1871, the French made their last effort to bring the enemy to terms by endeavoring to cut off his communications with Germany, but the attempt failed and the remains of the French forces were compelled to take refuge in the neutral territory of Switzerland, whither the Germans could not pursue them. Paris, reduced after a terrible siege to the point of starvation,[1] capitulated on January 28, and an armistice was concluded.

The National Assembly elected February, 1871, proves to be strongly monarchical

Since the dissolution of the government of Napoleon III early in September, France had had no opportunity to work out a new constitution, and had drifted on under a provisional "Government of the Public Defense" which Gambetta, Favre, and others among the former deputies had improvised. It was questionable whether this revolutionary body was authorized to conclude a peace, and accordingly it was arranged, upon the surrender of Paris, that the French should elect a national assembly which would legally represent the nation in dealing with the victorious enemy. The result of the elections was surprising, for only two hundred republican candidates were chosen as against five hundred monarchists of various kinds, namely, legitimists, Orleanists, and a few Bonapartists. This was largely due to the fact that Gambetta and other prominent republicans had talked so fervidly of continuing the war at any cost that the mass of the people was fearful lest if put in power they might prolong the disastrous conflict which was ruining the country. The National Assembly, aware that Paris was strongly republican in its sentiments, determined to meet in Bordeaux, where it held its first session on February 12.

Adolphe Thiers

Foremost among the brilliant men who composed this body was Adolphe Thiers, the historian, journalist, and politician, who for more than forty years had been a prominent figure both in literature and in affairs of State. In the grave crisis in which France found herself in February, 1871, he appeared, to be the natural leader. His popularity was demonstrated by

[1] For a description by an eyewitness, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 208 *sqq.*

the fact that in the elections for the National Assembly he had received over two million votes. The National Assembly therefore appointed him "Head of the Executive Power of the French Republic" and provided that he should exercise his authority through ministers of his own choice. This was, of course, a temporary arrangement, and the vital question whether France was to remain a republic or to be reconverted into a monarchy was deferred until the hated Germans should be got rid of. Thiers declared that in the face of the trying situation in which France found herself, all enlightened and patriotic citizens, whatever their individual views of government, should unite to free their country from the invader and restore her to her former prosperity.

The conclusion of peace with the Germans. Treaty of Frankfort, May 10, 1871

The first step in the realization of this policy was the conclusion of a final peace with the Germans, for the armistice which had been agreed upon at the capitulation of Paris had almost expired. On February 21 Thiers hurried to Versailles to open negotiations with the German emperor and Bismarck, and on the twenty-sixth, after many stormy scenes, the terms of the preliminary treaty were formulated. France was to renounce Alsace and a part of Lorraine, which together included a population of almost 1,600,000; pay an enormous indemnity of five billion francs; and submit to the presence of German troops until the last payment was made. The Assembly, convinced that a renewal of the war would be futile, accepted the terms imposed by the victorious Germans, and the peace documents were formally signed at Frankfort on May 10.[1]

The National Assembly moves to Versailles, March, 1871

As soon as peace had been duly concluded with Germany the republican minority urged that the National Assembly should dissolve itself, since it had now fulfilled its purpose. The majority, however, insisted upon continuing to govern

[1] The Germans were disappointed in their hope that the indemnity would seriously cripple France, for the first loan of two billion francs was secured in 1871 with ease, and the next year the second loan of three billions was subscribed twelve times over, — thus demonstrating both the patriotism and the credit of the French people. In the autumn of 1873 the amount was paid in full and the last German soldier left the soil of France.

France and proceeding to draft a constitution. The Assembly refused to remove to Paris, the "headquarters of sedition and the center of revolution," where the monarchists had good reason to fear the strong republican sentiment, so they chose Versailles as their place of meeting.[1] Louis Blanc warned the members that if they thus neglected the claims of Paris as the seat of government, there might arise "from the ashes of a horrible war with the foreigner a still more horrible civil conflict." His fears proved only too well founded, for Paris rose in revolt against an assembly which it regarded as made up of obstinate and benighted "rustics" who still clung to monarchy and had no sympathy with the needs of the great cities.

Paris resolves to bid defiance to the National Assembly

Trouble had been brewing in Paris for several months. The siege had thrown tens of thousands out of work and had produced general demoralization. The revolutionary group, which was speedily formed and which now attempted to govern Paris, included republicans, socialists, communists, anarchists, and some who could scarcely be said to have had much interest in anything except disorder. Many of the leaders were men of unquestionable integrity, who were determined to defend the republic, even by the sacrifice of their lives, as the "only form of government compatible with the rights of the people and the development of a free society." They all agreed in demanding that every commune, or municipality, should be left free to manage its own affairs in the interests of its own people. France would then become a sort of federation of communes, each community electing its own officers and introducing freely such social reforms as suited local conditions. It was this exalted confidence in the commune, or local government, that gained for the leaders the name of "communards."[2]

Views of the communards

[1] Not until 1879 did the French legislature again return to Paris.

[2] The word "communist" is often unhappily applied to the communards. But "communist" is best reserved for those who advocate the more or less complete abolition of private property and maintain that society as a whole should own and control, in the interests of all, the capital which is now left in the hands of individuals. Many of the communards were communists, but the terms are not synonymous.

The Commune suppressed with terrible loss of life and property, April–May, 1871

The doctrines of the communards failed, however, to gain any considerable support in the other cities of France, and the Assembly at Versailles determined to reduce rebellious Paris to subjection. Toward the close of April Thiers ordered a bombardment of the fortifications on the outskirts of the city preparatory to its capture. This was the beginning of a desperate struggle; the Versailles troops, under orders, refused to accord to the communards the rights of soldiers, and shot, as traitors and rebels, all who fell into their hands. After three weeks of fighting on the outskirts, the forces of the Assembly entered Paris by an unguarded gate on May 21, and then began a terrible period of war, murder, and arson in the city itself. For a whole week the fratricidal strife raged, until finally, on May 28, Marshal MacMahon, who was in command of the troops, was able to announce the close of the conflict and the restoration of order. The slaughter, however, was not yet at an end, for the monarchists set up courts-martial and, with scarcely the semblance of a trial, shot hundreds of the prisoners that had been taken. Unlike the government of the United States after the close of the Civil War, that of France under the leadership of Thiers — once a revolutionist himself — forgave no one. Seventy-five hundred of the insurgents were sent to the penal colony in New Caledonia and thirteen thousand were condemned to imprisonment at hard labor or sent into exile.

Dissensions between legitimists and Orleanists in the National Assembly

The National Assembly was at last free to turn to the vexed question of settling upon a permanent form of government for the distracted country. There would have been little difficulty in reëstablishing the monarchy if the monarchists had not been hopelessly divided among themselves. Some of them, known as the "legitimists" because they regarded the older Bourbon line as the lawful one, were in favor of bestowing the crown on the count of Chambord, a grandson of Charles X, who had been deposed by the Orleanist revolution in 1830. The "Orleanists," who wished to see a restoration of the House

of Orleans which had been overthrown in 1848, had a strong candidate in the person of the count of Paris, a grandson of Louis Philippe. These two groups of monarchists had nothing in common but their opposition to a republic; their hatred of each other was bitter and uncompromising.

Thiers (elected president of the republic, August, 1871) undertakes to strengthen the French army

In view of these divisions all factions were willing to postpone for a time the final solution of the problem, each hoping meanwhile to gain strength by delay. This policy was sanctioned by Thiers, who urged the assembly to devote its attention to the pressing task of strengthening the army and restoring the prosperity of France. Smarting under the humiliation of their defeat by the Germans, the Assembly passed a new army law modeled upon that of Prussia, which bound every Frenchman to military service for five years in the active service and fifteen years in the reserve force.[1] The frontier defenses were strengthened, the army equipped with the most improved instruments of war, and the war department completely reorganized.

Thiers overthrown and MacMahon elected president, 1873

At last, in December, 1872, Thiers, who had been an Orleanist, declared himself for the republic, arguing that its overthrow would mean a new revolution. His conservative republicanism, however, did not save him from attacks by Gambetta and the radical republicans of the extreme left; while the monarchists, angered by his defection, determined on his downfall. In May, 1873, they secured a majority vote in the Assembly for a resolution condemning Thiers's policy, and he thereupon resigned, leaving the government in the hands of the monarchists, who chose Marshal MacMahon as president and formed a coalition ministry representing Orleanists, legitimists, and Bonapartists.

The legitimists and Orleanists agree on a compromise, 1873

The various monarchist parties soon saw that they must arrange a compromise if they wished to restore the monarchy. Accordingly the Orleanists and legitimists agreed that the count of Chambord should be recognized as Henry V, and that since he had no children he should be succeeded by the count of Paris,

[1] The term of service in the active army, from which no able-bodied man is exempted, is now two years, followed by eleven years in the reserve.

the candidate of the Orleanists. The thorny question whether France should cling to the tricolored flag, which suggested revolution, or adopt the ancient white banner of the Bourbons was deferred until the monarchy should be securely established.

The count of Chambord refuses to abandon the white flag of the Bourbons

In this adjustment of affairs the parties had not reckoned with the character of the count of Chambord. He was then over fifty years of age and had spent most of his life as an exile in Scotland, Germany, Austria, and Italy. He had been educated by pious Catholics and ardent supporters of the legitimist cause, who had imbued him with a passionate devotion to the ancient rights of his house and with an equally passionate hatred of revolution in every form. Immediately after the suppression of the Paris Commune he had issued a manifesto in which he declared, "France will come to me, and I to her, just as I am, with my principles and my flag." He consented to negotiate with the count of Paris only on condition that he himself should be recognized as the legitimate head of the family and the lawful king. He then published an open letter in which he declared that he would not renounce the white flag which had so long been the standard of his house.

MacMahon's term prolonged to seven years

The Orleanists, enraged by the conduct of the fusion candidate, determined that he should not ascend the throne upon his own terms and took measures to prevent his coronation, although he had come to Versailles to superintend the preparations. They turned to the Bonapartists and republicans with a proposition to prolong the term of Marshal MacMahon, as president of the republic, for a period of seven years, in the hope that by the time his term expired they could gain sufficient strength to place their own candidate on the throne.

The Assembly at last agrees to sanction a republican form of government, January, 1875

The Assembly meanwhile continued its confused and heated debates, the republicans demanding the establishment without further delay of a republican constitution; the legitimists, the retirement of Marshal MacMahon in favor of the count of Chambord; and the Orleanists, the president's continuance in office until 1880. Finally, at the beginning of the year 1875,

four years after the election of the Assembly, it at last took up seriously the consideration of a permanent form of government, and on January 29 a motion was carried by a majority of one, providing that the president of the *republic* should be elected by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies meeting in a joint assembly. Thus the republicans finally carried the day by the narrowest possible margin.

Peculiar form of the present constitution of France

The restoration of the monarchy having now become impossible, for the time being at least, the Assembly proceeded with the work of completing a form of government, not by drafting an elaborate constitution but by passing a series of laws. These separate laws, supplemented by later amendments, form the constitution of the Third Republic, which consequently differs in many fundamental ways from all the previous French constitutions. It contains no reference to the sovereignty of the people; it includes no bill of rights enumerating the liberties of French citizens; and it makes no definite provision for maintaining a republican form of government. It, in fact, bears throughout the marks of hasty compilation, designed as it was to tide the nation over a crisis until one of the contending parties in the Assembly could secure a triumphant majority. Nevertheless, despite the expectations of many who took part in its making, it has lasted longer and provided a more stable government than any of the numerous constitutions France has had since 1789.

Position of the president of the French republic

Under this new constitution the president of the French republic occupies a position rather more like that of the king of England than that of the president of the United States. He is elected for a term of seven years, not by the people at large but by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies which meet as one body in Versailles for the purpose. There is no vice president, and in case of the death or resignation of the president a new one is immediately chosen for the full term of seven years. He selects his cabinet principally from among the members of the chambers, and the ministers thus chosen

exercise a powerful control over his policy and appointments. The real head of the government is the prime minister, as in England. The president has no veto, but may return a measure to the Chamber and Senate for reconsideration.

The Senate and Chamber of Deputies

The parliament consists of two houses, differing in this respect from the legislative bodies established in 1791 and 1848. The members of the Chamber of Deputies (now 597 in number) are chosen for a term of four years directly by the people, and every man over twenty-one years of age — unless he be in active service in the army — is permitted to vote. The three hundred senators are chosen indirectly for a term of nine years by a small group of local government officers in each department.

Exceptional powers of the French parliament

It will be observed that the French parliament is more powerful than the Congress of the United States. It not only elects the president, who is under the control of a ministry representing the majority in the chambers, but it may by meeting in joint session amend the constitution without the necessity of submitting the changes to the people for their ratification. There is no supreme court in France to declare the measures of parliament unconstitutional, and the president cannot veto them. Like the members of the English cabinet, the French ministers resign when they find their policy is no longer supported by a majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Third French Republic since 1875: The Dreyfus Affair

Strength of the republicans causes MacMahon to resign, 1879

61. The National Assembly, after completing the laws which now serve France as a constitution, dissolved on December 31, 1875, and a regular election was held throughout France for the purpose of choosing the members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. This resulted in an overwhelming majority for the republicans in the Chamber, and even in the Senate there were enough of them to give them the balance of

power among the conflicting royalist factions. The Orleanist president, Marshal MacMahon, found himself unable to work in harmony with the deputies, and in 1877 he dissolved the Chamber with the hope that by meddling in the elections and manipulating the returns he could secure at last a monarchical majority. This *coup d'état* failed. The new election left the republicans still in power; they denounced the president's policy and refused to approve the budget that he presented. After continuing the struggle until 1879, MacMahon resigned and was succeeded by an unmistakable republican, Jules Grévy, who enjoyed the entire confidence of the Chamber.

Freedom of the press and of public assemblies

Still further strengthened by the elections of 1881, the republicans undertook a number of urgent reforms. The press had been declared free in 1789 and in 1815, but the government had constantly watched the newspapers and punished editors who offended it by too frank criticism. At last, in 1881, the licenses previously required of those who wished to undertake new publications were abolished, publishers were no longer forced to make deposits in order to insure their respectful treatment of the government, and the police courts were deprived of their right to try those accused of defaming government officials. Akin to this reform was the right extended to any group of citizens to hold public meetings, on condition that they should merely announce their intention to the authorities. In 1884, after nearly a hundred years of harsh repressive legislation directed against all labor associations, a law was passed permitting workingmen to form unions. Finally, the government undertook a series of measures with a view of freeing the schools from the influence of the clergy, who were accused of undermining the loyalty of the children to the republic. These measures will be considered presently.

Disappearance of the monarchical parties

Year by year the French republic gained in the number of its adherents and in the confidence of the other powers of Europe. The death of the son of Napoleon III in 1879 was a fatal blow to the already declining hopes of the Bonapartists,

and the death of the childless count of Chambord in 1883 left the legitimist faction without a head. A few Orleanists clung to their candidate, the count of Paris, until his death in 1894, but the elections of the preceding year, which resulted in the choice of only seventy-three royalist deputies — legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists — had shown that France was at last irrevocably committed to the republic.

Boulanger's attempt to overturn the republic

Only twice since the formation of the republic has it been seriously threatened by political disturbances. The death of Gambetta in 1881 left the republicans, who naturally split up into several factions, without any distinguished leader. Encouraged by this situation a popular officer, General Boulanger, began courting the favor of the army and the workingmen in somewhat the same way that Napoleon III had done when he was planning to make himself master of France. In 1889 he was reëlected to the Chamber of Deputies by an overwhelming majority, and it seemed for a time that he might be able to gain sufficient popularity to enable him to get control of the government.[1] His enemies charged him with threatening the safety of the State, and he was tried and condemned to life imprisonment. He escaped from France, however, and in 1891 committed suicide, leaving his party to go to pieces. This episode served rather to discredit the monarchists than to weaken the republic.

The opening of the Dreyfus affair, 1894

France had scarcely settled down after the Boulanger episode before a singular incident rent the country into angry factions and stirred up the most bitter animosity which had distracted the nation since the Franco-German War and the suppression of the Commune. In 1894 Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew in the French artillery service, was charged with having delivered to a representative of the German government "a certain number of confidential documents relating to national defense," which might enable Germany to undertake war against France. He was secretly tried by a military tribunal,

[1] For a defense of Boulanger, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 216 *sqq.*

condemned to life imprisonment, degraded from his rank, and sent into solitary confinement on the lonely Devil's Island off the coast of French Guiana.

Dreyfus had consistently protested that he was entirely innocent of the charge, and his friends began to work for a new trial. Prominent military officers, however, were determined that the Dreyfus affair should not be reopened for fear, apparently, that something discreditable to the army might be unearthed.

France roused to frenzy over the affair

The supporters of Dreyfus charged the army officers with unscrupulousness and corruption; his opponents, on the other hand, appealed to the country in the name of the honor of the army; churchmen attacked him as a Jew and as an enemy of Christian France. Government officials in general maintained his guilt, but many politicians, journalists, and prominent radicals declared their belief in his innocence and accused those in power of shielding criminal injustice. Monarchists cited the whole scandal as conclusive evidence of the failure of republican government. Thus the Dreyfus affair became a military, religious, and political question, which created a sort of frenzy in France and aroused the interest of the whole civilized world.

Dreyfus at last declared innocent, 1906

The controversy reached a crisis in 1898 when the well-known novelist, Émile Zola, published an article [1] accusing all the officials connected with the trial and conviction of Dreyfus not only of wanton injustice but of downright dishonesty. Zola's charges greatly increased the excitement, and distinguished scholars and men of letters raised their voices in defense of Dreyfus. Zola was tried and condemned for his bold indictment,[2] but the reconsideration of the whole case could not be postponed any longer, and a new trial was ordered, which began at Rennes in the summer of 1899. This resulted in the condemnation of Dreyfus to six years' imprisonment, but he was immediately pardoned by President Loubet. It was hoped

[1] An extract is given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 219 *sqq.*

[2] He escaped punishment by retiring to England.

that the credit of those who had originally condemned Dreyfus might in this way be saved and yet no penalty be imposed on an innocent man. Naturally enough, however, this did not satisfy Dreyfus, who wanted not freedom as a pardoned criminal but a judicial declaration of his innocence. Consequently his numerous sympathizers continued to work for a new trial, and finally, in 1906, the highest court in France completely exonerated Dreyfus.

Effects of the controversy

The affair was thus at an end, but the effects of the controversy on the political situation in France could not be undone.

The formation of the "*bloc*"

It produced an alliance, called the "*bloc*," among the republicans of all shades, including the socialists, for the purpose of reducing the political importance of the army and the Church. The army was republicanized by getting rid of the royalist officers; the destruction of the political power of the clergy was by no means so easy a matter.

The Separation of Church and State

Natural hostility of the clergy to the French republic

62. The Catholic clergy had from the first been hostile to the republic, for they had every reason to fear that the new government, with its confidence in popular sovereignty, freedom of the press, and public schools, would sooner or later undermine their authority. The head of the Church, Pius IX, in a solemn statement called the Syllabus of 1864, had denounced in no uncertain terms what he regarded as the great dangers and errors of the age. Among these were religious toleration, liberty of conscience, freedom of the press and of speech, separation of Church and State, and secular education. The republicans were therefore pledged to just those things which the Pope condemned. It was inevitable, therefore, that the clerical party should do all in its power to discredit the republic and bring about a restoration of the monarchy. The Jesuits and other religious orders who maintained schools roused in the children's minds a distrust of the government, and the

clergy actively engaged in electioneering whenever there was hope of electing deputies who would favor their cause. The religious newspapers represented the republic as an unfortunate accident which had put ungodly men in power but which would doubtless speedily give way to a more legitimate form of government.

The republicans become anticlerical

This attitude on the part of the clergy naturally made the republicans more strongly anticlerical than ever. They came to hate the clergy and all they stood for. Gambetta declared that clericalism was "*the* enemy." Indeed, it was not until 1892 that Leo XIII admonished the French bishops and priests to "accept the republic, that is to say, the established power which exists among you; respect it and submit to it as representing the power which comes from God."

Main objects of the anticlericals during the past twenty-five years

In spite of this peaceful advice on the part of the head of the Church there has been no peace; for during the past twenty-five years an extraordinary struggle between Church and State has been in progress in France, in which the republic has proved the victor and has succeeded in depriving the Church of a great part of those sources of political influence which remained to it after the losses it suffered during the French Revolution. The opponents of the Church have had two main objects in view: (1) to free the schools from the influence of the clergy and thus prevent the children of France from being brought up as monarchists, and (2) to relieve the government from the burden of paying the salaries of the clergy and to bring about the complete separation of Church and State.

Establishment of public schools under purely secular influence

The first step was to increase the number of public schools which might serve to attract pupils away from the convent and other Church schools. Over two hundred millions of dollars have been appropriated for this purpose during the past thirty years. By laws passed in 1881–1886 instruction was made free in the primary public schools, no clergyman was to be employed as a teacher in them, and compulsory education for children between six and thirteen years was established. The private schools were also placed under strict government supervision.

Opposition to the religious associations

Many of the monastic orders and various other religious associations which had lost their property and then been abolished during the first revolution had been reëstablished, and new ones had been created. Most of them were devoted to charitable work or to education. The Jesuits were accused of working, as always, in the interests of the Pope, and the Dominicans of preaching openly against the republic, while the innumerable schools in the convents and elsewhere were reproached with instilling monarchical and reactionary ideas into the tender minds of the children committed to their charge.

The Associations Law of 1901

From time to time some anticlerical deputy would propose the abolition of all the religious associations, and finally, in 1900, Waldeck-Rousseau, then prime minister, committed himself and his cabinet to a measure for greatly reducing their number, declaring that "There are too many monks in politics and too many monks in business."[1] The following year the Associations Law was passed. This provided that no religious order could continue to exist in France without a specific authorization from the parliament, and that no one belonging to a nonauthorized association should be permitted to teach or to conduct a school. At the time of the passage of the law there were about one hundred and sixty thousand members (mainly women) in the various religious associations, which maintained about twenty thousand establishments. The parliament refused to grant most of the applications made by the many unauthorized associations, and as a result numerous teaching, preaching, and commercial societies which had been organized under the auspices of the Catholic Church were broken up, and within two years ten thousand religious schools were closed. In the year 1909–1910 there were over five million French children in the public and other secular schools and less than one

[1] Sometimes the orders carried on a little industry in the interests of their convent. For example, the monks of the great Carthusian monastery above Grenoble manufactured the famous liqueur known as Chartreuse. The labor parties denounced the monks for thus going into business and competing with other manufacturers.

hundred thousand enrolled in those connected with religious associations. A law of 1904 provided that within ten years all teaching by religious associations shall cease.

The Concordat of 1801 established a close relation between Church and State

The attack on the religious orders was only the prelude to the complete separation of Church and State which had been advocated for a century by the opponents of the Church. It will be remembered that the French Convention proclaimed this separation in 1795 and refused longer to pay the salaries of the clergy, or in any way to recognize the existence of the Church except as a voluntary association which should be supported by those who wished to belong to it. Bonaparte, however, partially restored the old system in the Concordat which he arranged with the Pope in 1801.[1] This, with a supplementary act, remained the basis of the relations between Church and State in France down to 1906.[2] Bonaparte did not give back the property of the Church of which it had been deprived by the first French Assembly in 1789, but he agreed that the government should pay the salaries of the bishops and priests whose appointment it controlled. Although the Catholic religion was recognized as that of the majority of Frenchmen, the State also helped support the Reformed and Lutheran churches and the Jewish religious community.

Power of the clergy during the nineteenth century

From the standpoint of the government this was in many ways an excellent arrangement, for it was thus enabled profoundly to influence public opinion through its control over the clergy. Consequently, amid all the later political changes, the settlement reached by Bonaparte was retained essentially unaltered. Louis XVIII, Charles X, Louis Philippe, and Napoleon III had no desire to do away with the Concordat which afforded them such great political power.

1 See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 224 *sq.*

2 The policy of the leaders of the French Revolution and of Bonaparte in regard to the clergy and the religious associations has already been carefully described with a view of preparing the way for an understanding of the recent important legislation in France affecting the Church. See above, pp. 127 *sqq.*, 141, and 194 *sqq.*

Final separation of Church and State in 1905

But with the establishment of the republic all this was changed, owing to the strong monarchical sympathies of the clergy. There were, moreover, large numbers of Frenchmen who, if not actively opposed to the Church, had no interest in religion. To this class it seemed absurd that the government should be paying forty million francs a year to clergymen for teaching the people what seemed to them nonsense and for stirring up hostility to the government. Nevertheless, it was no easy task to put asunder Church and State, which had been closely associated with one another from the times of Constantine and Theodosius the Great. It was not until December, 1905, that the Separation Law was promulgated.

Main provisions of the Separation Law

The main provisions of the new law are relatively simple. It suppresses all government appropriations for religious purposes, but provides pensions for clergymen of long service and the gradual extinction of the salaries of others. It declares that cathedrals, churches, the residences of bishops, and other ecclesiastical buildings belong to the government, but shall be placed at the disposal of congregations and their pastors free of charge. The management of these edifices and the control of other property of the Church are vested in Associations for Religious Worship[1] (*associations cultuelles*) composed of from seven to twenty-five persons according to the size of the commune. The Concordat concluded in 1801 is, of course, expressly abolished.

The Pope and clergy oppose the new law

It soon became evident that the Pope and a large Catholic party were determined not to accept these provisions. Crowds collided with the soldiers sent to guard the churches while inventories were being made of the property to be handed over to the Associations for Public Worship. In February, 1906, the Pope condemned the entire law in a long encyclical letter

[1] These closely resemble the various Church associations, both Catholic and Protestant, in the United States, which are, from the standpoint of the law, merely religious societies on the same footing as social, literary, or scientific associations.

CATHOLICS DEFENDING A CHURCH AGAINST THE INVENTORY OF PROPERTY BY THE POLICE, IN 1906

to the archbishops and bishops of France in which he protested especially against the religious associations for which it provided.[1] Unfortunately he did not advise the French clergy just how to get out of the predicament in which they found themselves.

National elections uphold the government

The clergy, obedient to the commands of the head of the Church, refused to countenance the formation of associations, and most of them declined the proffered pensions. The nation at large, however, evidently supported the government in its plans, for the elections held in May, 1906, returned a large majority of radicals, socialists, and progressives committed to the full execution of the law.

The government permits the continuance of public worship by a new law, December, 1906

When the year allowed for the formation of the religious associations expired in December, 1906, the Church property which had no legal claimants passed into the hands of the government. However, the minister of public worship, M. Briand, a socialist, unwilling to stop religious services, took steps to allow the churches to remain open in spite of the failure to comply with the law. At his instigation the French parliament passed a very important supplementary measure which provides that buildings for public worship and their entire furniture shall remain at the disposal of priests and their congregations even if the associations required by the original law are not formed.

In January, 1907, the Pope again denounced the government, which, he declared, was confiscating Church property and attempting to destroy Christianity in France; and he has not yet been reconciled to the policy of the government. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the republic means to render permanent the separation of Church and State. Subsidies to the clergy are no longer provided, although the promised pensions are paid to such clergymen as apply for them. In the budget of 1912 only about $50,000 was set aside for "the assistance of retired clergymen." The government leaves the Church to choose its own bishops and priests and hold conventions when

[1] The protest is printed in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 226 *sqq*.

and where it wishes. It has converted the palaces of the bishops, the parsonages, and the seminaries into schools, hospitals, or other public institutions, although it still permits the churches to be used for public worship.

Political Parties in France

Parties in the French parliament

63. The parties and factions in the French parliament are bewildering in number. The election of 1906 sent to the Chamber of Deputies representatives of the following groups: radicals, socialist radicals, dissident radicals, independent socialists, unified socialists, republicans of the left, progressivists, nationalists, monarchists and Bonapartists, and a few other minor factions. With the exception, of course, of the monarchists and Bonapartists, they all agree that the republic shall be maintained, and they have been able to unite upon many important measures, such as those relating to education and the relations of the State to the Church, but they differ on other questions of reform which are constantly coming up. Some are pretty well satisfied with things as they are, while others, especially the various socialist groups, would like to see the government undertake a complete social and economic revolution for the benefit of the laboring classes. The State should, they believe, take possession of lands, mines, mills, and other sources of wealth and means of production, and see that they are used for the benefit of those who do the work and no longer serve to enrich men who seem to them to sit idly by and profit by the labor of others.

Socialism reappears under the Third Republic

The socialistic party, which figured so prominently in the Revolution of 1848 and the revolt of the Paris Commune, disappeared for a time after the suppression of the insurrection in 1871, but again reappeared shortly after the final establishment of the republic. In 1879 the socialists held their first congress under the republic at Marseilles, where they may be said to have initiated the present socialist movement in France.

The following year a general amnesty was granted to all who had been connected with the Commune, and a great labor convention was immediately held in Paris, where, under the inspiration of Jules Guesde, the doctrines of Karl Marx were accepted as the fundamental principles of French socialism.

Divisions among the socialists, — Marxians and possibilists

Notwithstanding their general agreement as to their ends, the French socialists have from the very first been divided over the question of the best methods of attaining their aims. Broadly speaking, there have been two groups, each with varying shades of opinion. In the first place there are the Marxians, — who are in general strongly opposed to voting for candidates of other parties, though willing to wring concessions from them in the Chamber of Deputies, — who expect socialism to be ushered in by a crisis in which the workingmen will seize the supreme power and use it for their own benefit, as the middle class did in the previous revolutions. The second, and more numerous, socialist group goes by the name of the "possibilists," because they do not believe that socialistic ideas can be carried into effect as the result of a violent revolution, but hope to see them realized by a gradual process in which the government will assume control and ownership of one industry after another.

The socialists become a political factor

The various socialistic factions, numbering six or seven at times, united at the general election in 1893, and by remarkable energy succeeded in returning about fifty members to the Chamber of Deputies, thus inaugurating a new era in French politics. The socialist vote steadily increased until in 1899 the prime minister, Waldeck-Rousseau, was forced to accept a socialist, M. Millerand, as Minister of Commerce in order to control enough votes in the chamber to carry on the government. Since then the possibilists have from time to time been represented in the cabinet, and they have worked for their ends by combining with other parties.[1]

[1] For a speech by the former prime minister, Clémenceau, on socialism, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 233 *sqq.*

Contrast between the French parties and those in England and the United States

In England and the United States there are two great parties, one of which is ordinarily in unmistakable control. In France there are so many parties that no single one can ever long command a majority of votes in the Chamber of Deputies. As a result measures cannot be carried simply because the leaders of one party agree on them, but they must appeal to a number of groups on their own merits. Minorities, consequently, have an opportunity to influence legislation in France, and there is little chance for machine politics to develop. It is true that French ministries rise and fall at very short intervals, but nevertheless the laws which do pass receive more careful attention, perhaps, than they would if pushed through as party measures.[1]

"Interpellations"

The opponents of a ministry in the Chamber of Deputies take advantage of the privilege of asking the ministers questions in regard to their policy and thus force them to explain their motives. When a deputy formally announces that he is going to "interpellate" the ministers, he must be given an opportunity to do so within a certain period at a regular session of the Chamber. These "interpellations" are more common in France than elsewhere, but are not unknown in other governments.

Expansion of France

French colonial dominion in 1870

64. While solving grave problems at home the Third Republic has pushed forward its commercial, exploring, and military enterprises until it has built up a colonial dominion vaster than that lost during the eighteenth century in the conflicts with England, though less valuable and less inviting to French emigrants. When the Third Republic was established French colonial possessions consisted of Algeria in northern Africa, the Senegal region on the west coast of Africa, some minor posts scattered along the Gulf of Guinea down to the Congo River, a foothold in Cochin China, and a number of small islands in various parts of the

[1] For recent social legislation in France, see below, p. 527.

world. The basis of territorial expansion had thus been laid, and after the quick recovery which followed the reverses of the German War, the French government frankly committed itself to a policy of imperialism.

The French annex Algeria

While the National Assembly was deliberating on the form of government at home, a revolt in Algeria, which had been seized in 1830, forced France to formulate a colonial policy. This insurrection was not put down until more than two hundred battles and skirmishes had been fought. The great province of Algeria is only slightly smaller than France itself, and has a population of over five millions, of whom only about eight hundred thousand are of European origin.[1] To the east of Algeria lies the province of Tunis, equaling in area the state of New York and having a population akin to that of Algeria in race and religion. Tunisian tribes were accused by the French of disturbing the peace of the Algerian border, and in 1881 France dispatched troops into Tunis. After some serious fighting the province was occupied and the Bey was virtually forced to surrender the administration of his possessions to the French government, in whose hands it remains.

The French in Senegal

While these enterprises were bringing northern Africa under French dominion, a series of daring explorations and conquests in western and central Africa were adding vast regions and millions of African natives to the French colonial domain. France had taken formal possession of the province of Senegal on the west coast as early as 1637, but no serious efforts to extend her control inland were made until the annexation of Algeria called attention to the possibility of joining the two provinces. After the middle of the nineteenth century steady pressure inland began and Timbuktu was conquered in 1894.

The Fashoda incident

Four years later Marchand, a French explorer, pressed eastward across the desert and reached the Nile region, where he raised the French flag at Fashoda over lands claimed by the

[1] The French have also been mapping out and occupying the vast desert to the south.

English. An English force, however, compelled Marchand to lower the flag, and for a time it looked as if the two countries might come to blows. Fortunately, however, the French withdrew, and the two nations arranged the disputed boundaries between them, thus closing the "Fashoda incident," as it was called.

French Congo

A post on the equator at the mouth of the Gabun River, bought in 1839, became the base for celebrated expeditions headed by du Chaillu and de Brazza, which added a vast region north of the Congo River more than twice the size of France and now known as French Congo.[1] The vast extent of the French possessions in northwestern Africa will become apparent as one glances at the map, p. 492, below.

The annexation of Madagascar, 1896

While the French explorers were pushing their way through the jungles of the Senegal and Congo regions, or braving the sand storms of the Sahara,[2] French missionaries and commercial agents were preparing the way for the annexation of the island of Madagascar. Using as a pretext the murder of some French citizens by the natives, the French waged war on the ruler of Madagascar (1882–1885), and succeeded in establishing a protectorate over the entire island. Later they accused Queen Ranavalona III of bad faith and of inability to suppress brigandage. A second war which broke out in 1895 ended in the deposition and expulsion of the queen.

Advance of France in Asia

The Third Republic also has extensive colonial dominions in Asia, where French missionaries and traders had been attracted under Colbert's administration. Interest in the province of Anam was renewed about 1850 when some French missionaries were murdered there. Napoleon III waged war on the

[1] In addition to their larger African dependencies the French control French Guiana, south of Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and the native kingdom of Dahomey.

[2] In the contest for the east coast of Africa the French have taken little part. In 1862 they purchased from a native chief the post of Obock, but it was not actually occupied until 1884. Since that time, however, slight additions of land have been made, and the post has grown into French Somaliland, a province of about six thousand square miles.

king in 1857, forcing from him the payment of an indemnity and the cession of a small portion of his territory. The foothold thus obtained formed the basis for rapid expansion in every direction; a protectorate was extended over the kingdom of Cambodia in 1864; and in 1867 Cochin China was entirely annexed. An attempt in 1873 to force the opening to navigation of the Red River in Tonkin led to a war with the ruler of that province which resulted in the extension of a protectorate over all of Anam, of which Tonkin was a district. This defiance of the Chinese emperor's claims at length stirred him to resistance; but the war of 1884 which resulted cost him all his rights over Tonkin and the remainder of Anam. In 1893 France extended her authority over the territory of Laos to the south. The French possessions are thus in close contact with the provinces of southern China into which French influence is already penetrating in the form of railways and mining concessions. France is therefore deeply involved in the rivalry of the powers of the world in the Far East, among which the United States must now be reckoned on account of its possession of the Philippine Islands lying just eastward from the coast of French Indo-China.

COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES OF FRANCE

In Asia: Five towns in India, Anam, Cambodia, Cochin China, Tonkin, and Laos.

In Africa: Algeria, Tunis, Sahara, Senegal, Upper Senegal and Niger, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Congo, Somaliland, Mauretania, Madagascar, the islands of Réunion and Mayotte, and the Comoro Isles.

In America: Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Pierre, and Miquelon.

In Oceania: New Caledonia and dependencies. Various stations in Pacific.

Total area, 4,776,126 square miles. Population, 41,653,650.

REFERENCES

The Commune: SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 187–194; ROSE, *Development of Modern European Nations*, Vol. I, pp. 126–134; COUBERTIN, *The Evolution of France under the Third Republic*, pp. 17–22; ANDREWS, *Historical Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 343–349; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 330–336.

Establishment of the Third Republic: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 194–204; ROSE, Vol. I, pp. 135–152: COUBERTIN, pp. 1–52; ANDREWS, Vol. II, pp. 349–355; HAZEN, pp. 336–345.

The Government of France: LOWELL, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 1–68; BODLEY, *France;* HAZEN, pp. 345–348.

Political Parties in France: LOWELL, Vol. I, pp. 69–145; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 205–221.

The Struggle between Church and State: PAUL SABATIER, *Disestablishment in France;* BODLEY, *The Church in France*, pp. 13–114; COUBERTIN, pp. 272–307; HAZEN, pp. 364–371.

The French Colonial Empire: COUBERTIN, pp. 162–197; *The Statesman's Year-Book* (1912), pp. 798–837; HAZEN, pp. 371–375.

CHAPTER XIX

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS IN ENGLAND

Parliamentary Reform

Backwardness of England at the opening of the nineteenth century

65. In the eighteenth century the English government had been extolled by Montesquieu and others as by far the most liberal and enlightened in Europe. But the reforms of the French Revolution made England appear almost mediæval in its backwardness. Its Parliament was, after all, only a council of wealthy landlords and nobles who often gained their seats by bribery and could not be said to represent the nation, which had, indeed, little to do with their election. The English law was still shockingly brutal; citizens who did not comply with certain rites of the Established Church were excluded from office; and education was far from the reach of the masses. When the downfall of Napoleon left the English free to turn their attention to the problems which faced them at home, they were forced to undertake a thorough modernization of their institutions almost as radical as that which was being effected with more turmoil on the continent.[1]

Origin of the "rotten boroughs"

The leading issue was the reform of Parliament, — a matter which had begun to attract the attention of English liberals before the opening of the French Revolution. It is a cardinal principle of modern democratic government that at least one

[1] The important reforms which England carried through during the nineteenth century with little bloodshed or disorder are sometimes cited as showing the superior political genius of the English. It should be remembered, however, that the supremacy of the Parliament over the king had only been established after a bloody civil war, the execution of one king, and the expulsion of another. Louis XIV's minister, Torcy, regarded the English of his time as fickle and incompetent in governmental matters.

of the houses in the legislative body shall be made up of representatives of the people, fairly apportioned among the various election districts. In England, however, such towns as had in earlier times been summoned by the king to send their two representatives each to Parliament, continued to do so at the opening of the nineteenth century, regardless of the number of their inhabitants, and no new boroughs had been added to the list since the reign of Charles II. Mere villages had grown into great cities, and the newer towns which had developed under the influence of the Industrial Revolution, like Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, had no representatives at all. On the other hand, Dunwich, which had been buried under the waters of the North Sea for two centuries, was duly represented, as well as the famous borough of Old Sarum, which was only a green mound where a town had once stood. Moreover it was not only in the towns that representation was wholly unequal. The county of Cornwall, with a population of a quarter of a million, had forty-four representatives, while all Scotland, with eight times that population, was entitled to only one more member.

Few persons permitted to vote

A second cardinal principle of modern democracy was violated by the restrictions on the right to vote. In the towns there was no uniform rule. In some boroughs all taxpayers had the right to take part in elections, but in one of these — Gatton — there were only seven voters. In other boroughs the right of choosing the members of Parliament was exercised by the mayor and town council, who were often not elected by the people at all.

Many seats controlled by members of the House of Lords

Many of the boroughs were owned outright by members of the House of Lords or others, who easily forced the few voters to choose any candidate they proposed. The duke of Norfolk chose eleven members of the House of Commons, Lord Lonsdall, nine, and Lord Darlington, seven; while other peers had one or more representatives in the Commons. In 1828 the duke of Newcastle evicted over five hundred of his tenants because they refused to vote for his candidate, and when this led to a protest

in Parliament he replied, "Have I not a right to do as I like with my own?" Some of the lords sold the seats they controlled to the highest bidders.

Situation in the country districts

In the country districts matters were no better. It is true that every person owning land which brought in forty shillings a year was permitted to vote for members of Parliament, but the disappearance of most of the small farmers had reduced the voters to the few who owned large estates. In the Scottish county of Bute, with its population of fourteen thousand inhabitants, there were twenty-one voters, of whom all but one were nonresidents. In 1831 the Lord Advocate declared: "At an election in Bute, not beyond the memory of man, only one person attended the meeting except the sheriff and the returning officer. He, of course, took the chair, constituted the meeting, called over the roll of freeholders, answered to his own name, took the vote, and elected himself."

Prevalence of bribery

Bribery was prevalent and was fostered by the system of public balloting.[1] By long-established custom the price of a vote at Hull was two guineas (something over ten dollars), at Stafford, seven.

England really governed by an oligarchy

Thus, through the gross inequalities in apportioning the members, the curious methods of balloting, open bribery, and ownership of boroughs, the House of Commons was ordinarily under the control of a comparatively few men. It was alleged in 1792 that one hundred and fifty-four patrons, forty of whom were peers, returned a majority of the house. A very cautious scholar of our own day estimates that not more than one third of the representatives in the House of Commons were fairly chosen.

Proposals for reform before the nineteenth century

The whole system was so obviously preposterous that it is not surprising that objections to it had long been common. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century the abuses were severely attacked, and during the democratic agitation which preceded and accompanied the French Revolution several attempts were made to induce Parliament to reform itself. The elder Pitt

[1] Secret ballot was not established until 1872.

(Lord Chatham), in 1770, and later his distinguished son, the younger Pitt, proposed changes which were, however, successfully opposed by those who were well content with the existing system.

The French Revolution puts an end for a time to hopes of reform in England

The excesses of the French Convention during the Reign of Terror put an end to all hope of reform for some time. Even the more cool-headed and progressive among the English statesmen were discouraged by the apparently disastrous results in France of permitting the people at large to vote. Burke wrote a furious attack upon the Revolution, and the English government adopted harsh measures to prevent all agitation for reform.

The "Peterloo massacre," 1819

After the overthrow of Napoleon, orators, writers, and agitators redoubled their efforts to arouse the working classes to action. Hampden clubs were founded to propagate reform doctrines, and monster demonstrations and parades were organized to prove to the government the strength of the popular feeling. At one of these meetings in Manchester in 1819, the police and soldiers charged the populace without provocation and killed and wounded a large number.[1] The government followed this up by a series of laws known as the Six Acts, which restricted the rights of free press, free speech, and public meeting.

Merchants and manufacturers begin to urge reform

This attempt at repression proved unavailing, for it was not only the working classes but the rich and powerful merchants and manufacturers as well who demanded the revision of a system which excluded them from political power. Under the leadership of Lord John Russell parliamentary reform was again and again urged in the Commons. The revolution of 1830 in France added impetus to the agitation in England, and that stanch Tory, the duke of Wellington, was led to resign his premiership under pressure of a growing public opinion that seemed verging on open violence.

The passage of the Reform Bill of 1832

A new ministry was organized, and in March, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced a reform bill into the House of

[1] This assault, known as the "Peterloo massacre," occurred in St. Peter's Field, then on the outskirts, but now in the heart of Manchester.

Commons.[1] The violent opposition which the measure encountered at the outset led to a dissolution of Parliament and to a general election. The result was a triumph for the reform party, which then carried the bill through the Commons by a substantial majority. It was, however, rejected by the House of Lords. The Commons then replied by passing another bill of the same character as the first, and the country awaited with breathless anxiety the action of the peers. Finally, King William IV granted permission to the prime minister "to create such a number of peers as will insure the passage of the reform bill." The lords, realizing that further opposition was useless, gave way, and in June, 1832, the long-debated bill became a law.

Provisions of the Reform Bill of 1832

According to its provisions fifty-six "rotten boroughs," each containing less than two thousand inhabitants, were entirely deprived of representation; thirty-two more, with less than four thousand inhabitants, lost one member each; and forty-three new boroughs were created with one or two members each, according to their respective populations. The counties were divided into election districts and assigned a representation corresponding more nearly than heretofore with the number of their inhabitants. The suffrage was given in the towns to all citizens who owned or rented houses worth ten pounds a year, and to *renters* as well as *owners* of lands of a certain value in the country. In this way the shopkeepers and manufacturers and some of the more prosperous people in the country were given the right to vote, but nearly all workingmen and agricultural laborers were still excluded from the franchise.

The Reform Bill of 1832 far from a democratic measure

The great Reform Bill of 1832 was therefore not really a triumph for democracy. It was estimated from official returns in 1836 that out of a total number of 6,023,752 adult males there were only 839,519 voters. The thousands whose parades and demonstrations had frightened the duke of Wellington and

[1] For Lord John Russell's speech on parliamentary reform, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 239 *sqq*. A speech in opposition is printed on pp. 242 *sqq*.

the king into yielding were naturally dissatisfied with the outcome. The fact that those who came into power under the new bill showed little inclination to relieve the condition of the working classes, whose wages were pitiably low and whose homes were miserable hovels, added bitterness to their disappointment.

The Reform Bill had scarcely been signed before a veritable flood of pamphlet literature appeared, proposing more radical measures.[1] Translations of Magna Carta and reprints of the Bill of Rights and the acts of the Long Parliament abolishing the House of Lords and the kingship were circulated as leaflets among the working classes. The reformers at last agreed on pressing six demands, which they embodied in a charter; to wit, universal suffrage, vote by secret ballot, annual parliaments, payment of members of Parliament, abolition of property qualifications for members of Parliament, and equal electoral districts.

The Chartist movement

This charter soon won thousands of adherents to whom the name of "Chartists" was given. Local Chartist clubs were founded in every manufacturing town, and in 1840 a national Charter Association was organized for the purpose of federating the various clubs. Leaders of remarkable oratorical ability sprang into prominence; papers were established; Chartist songs and poems were composed, and national conventions assembled. Great meetings and parades were held all over England; the charter was transformed into a petition to which it was claimed that over a million signatures were obtained. This petition was presented to Parliament in 1839 only to be rejected by a large vote.[2]

[1] For extracts from contemporary pamphlets on the extension of the suffrage, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 245 *sqq*.

[2] The Chartists were violently attacked by the opponents of their democratic proposals, which seem harmless enough to-day. In 1840 the Reverend E. Jenkins issued a book called *Chartism Unmasked*, in which he made the following observations: "What would you gain by universal suffrage? I am certain that you would gain nothing but universal confusion, universal setting of workmen against each other. . . . All workmen would then become politicians — they would neglect their vocations in life — spend their time, their strength

Despairing of securing reforms by peaceful means, many of the leaders began openly to advocate revolutionary violence, and rioting spread to such an extent that the government had to resort to extraordinary police measures to suppress it. Birmingham was for a time in the hands of revolutionists, and at Newport in 1839 twenty Chartists were shot in an attempt to seize the town and start an insurrection. Though the police were successful in quelling these armed uprisings, agitation continued, several Chartist members were elected to Parliament, and another petition was submitted to that body.

Some of the Chartists advocate violence

The revolution of 1848 in France and the establishment of the Second Republic gave the signal for the last great outburst of Chartist enthusiasm. Owing to the hard times in that year, thousands of workmen were unemployed, and the poor were roused to bitter hatred for a government that replied to demands for reform by police measures. Preparations were made to present another gigantic petition to the House of Commons, to which it was claimed that six million names had been secured, and the Chartist leaders determined to overawe Parliament by a march on London. Though this show of force was frustrated by Metternich's friend, the duke of Wellington, then commander of the troops policing London, the petition was finally presented to the House of Commons. It was there referred to a committee, which reported that there were less than two million names and that many of these were evident forgeries, such as "Victoria Rex," "the Duke of Wellington," "Pugnose," and "Snooks." The petition was thereby greatly discredited, and Parliament refused to take any action on it. Chartism, as an organized movement, thereupon collapsed.

Final Chartist petition of 1848

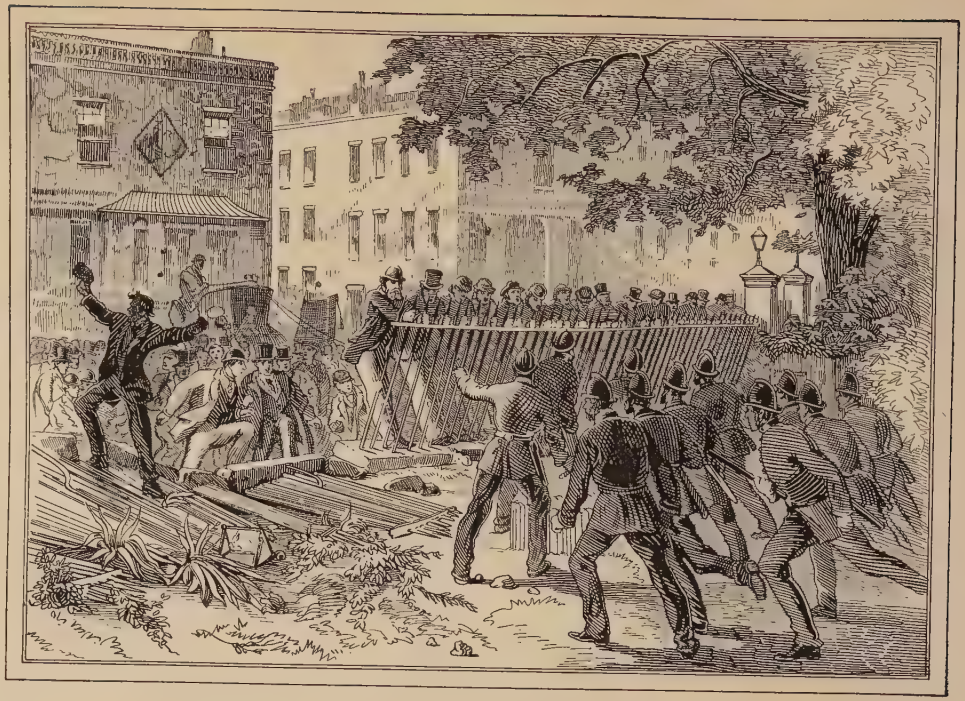
their talents in what would increase their poverty. Vote by ballot would be nothing but a law for rogues and knaves, nothing but a cloak for dishonesty, insincerity, hypocrisy and lies. . . . With respect to having members of Parliament paid and void of property qualifications — really this is too absurd for an idiot to be the author of it. . . . The famous Chartist doctrine of Equality is diametrically opposed to Nature and the word of God; it is a doctrine taught only by lying prophets — men who are of their father the Devil, for his works they do."

Gladstone espouses the cause of parliamentary reform in 1866

The cause of parliamentary reform was not, however, lost with the failure of the Chartist movement. The doctrines of democracy had been spread among the people by the agitation, and from time to time advocates were found to introduce reform measures in the House of Commons. Although these proposals were easily defeated, there was a steadily growing recognition that some changes were inevitable, and at length, in 1866, Gladstone, as leader of the House of Commons, made the question an issue of practical politics. Mr. Gladstone was then fifty-seven years old. He had entered Parliament as a Tory at the first election after the Reform Bill of 1832, and had quickly shown himself a commanding orator and a capable politician. At the end of a few years his views on public questions began to change, and at length he broke with the conservative traditions of his youth. In a debate on parliamentary reform in 1864 he maintained that the burden of proof rested on those "who would exclude forty-nine fiftieths of the working classes from the franchise." The very next year the veteran reformer of 1832, Lord Russell, now elevated to the peerage, was called upon to form a new ministry, and he selected Gladstone as leader of the lower house.

Disraeli succeeds Gladstone as leader of the House of Commons

At the opening of Parliament in 1866 Gladstone proposed a moderate extension of the franchise, which was still based on property qualifications. This measure displeased many of Gladstone's followers because it went too far, and others because it did not go far enough. Consequently the cabinet felt compelled to resign, and a Conservative ministry was formed under the leadership of Lord Derby, who was represented in the House of Commons by Benjamin Disraeli (afterwards created Lord Beaconsfield), one of the most striking figures in the political life of England during the nineteenth century. When a young man of twenty-two he had sprung into prominence as the author of a successful novel, *Vivian Grey*, and at the age of thirty-three he entered upon his political career as a Conservative member of Parliament. His Jewish origin, his obtrusive



MEN RIOTING FOR THE SUFFRAGE IN HYDE PARK (1866)

style of dress, and his florid oratory immediately brought him into conspicuous notoriety; but those who laughed at him at first soon came to recognize him as a leader of great force and a politician of remarkable ability.

Disraeli's reform bill of 1867 doubles the number of voters

The Conservatives, as the old Tory party had come to be called, were alarmed by the general demand for reform and some rioting which took place in Hyde Park, but Disraeli was able to secure the passage of a reform bill in spite of the denunciations of some of his fellow-Conservatives and the smiles of the Liberals, who taunted him with advocating changes which he had long opposed.[1] The new law of 1867 granted the right to vote to every adult male in the larger towns who occupied for twelve months, either as owner or tenant, a dwelling within the borough, and paid the local poor tax; also to lodgers who paid ten pounds or more a year for unfurnished rooms. In the country it permitted those to vote who owned property which produced an income of at least five pounds net a year, and all renters paying at least twelve pounds annually. This served to double the previous number of voters.[2]

Extension of the franchise in 1884

In 1884 the Liberal party, again under Gladstone's leadership, resolved to carry still further the reforms of 1832 and 1867, for over two million men, chiefly agricultural laborers, were denied the right to vote.[3] By extending the suffrage to them the Liberals hoped to gain their support to offset the control of the rural districts which had hitherto been enjoyed by the Conservatives. The new law which they succeeded in passing provided that the franchise established for the larger towns in 1867 should be extended to all towns, and to the country districts as well, thus introducing general uniformity

1 Extracts from a contemporary speech against giving the vote to workingmen are given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 251 *sqq*.

2 It may be said here, once for all, that in England, as in most European countries, it is customary to exclude from the suffrage all paupers, criminals, the insane, and certain other classes of persons.

3 For Gladstone's speech on suffrage in 1884, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 255 *sqq*.

throughout the United Kingdom. While this measure seemed to establish something approaching the manhood suffrage already common on the Continent, many men are still excluded from voting, especially unmarried laborers who, owing to the low rents in England, do not pay as much as ten pounds (fifty dollars) a year for unfurnished lodgings. On account of the dissatisfaction with this system the Liberal government in 1912 introduced in Parliament a new reform bill which, if passed, will practically establish universal manhood suffrage.

The English Cabinet

The position of the English sovereign

66. These reforms, which permit a large number of voters to select the members of the House of Commons, have left untouched, so far as appearances are concerned, the ancient and honorable institutions of the king and the House of Lords.[1] The sovereign is crowned with traditional pomp; coins and proclamations still assert that he rules "by the grace of God"; and laws purport to be enacted "by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled." Justice is executed and the colonies are governed in the name of the king. The term "royal" is still applied to the army, the navy, and the mail service, reserving, as a wit once remarked, the word "national" only for the public debt.

Parliament really controls the English government

There was a time, of course, when the highest prerogatives were really exercised by the king of England. Henry VIII, for example, appointed his own ministers and dismissed them at will. He made war and peace at his pleasure, and exercised such an influence on the elections that Parliament was filled with his supporters. The long struggle, however, between the king and the Parliament in the seventeenth century, and the circumstances of the Revolution of 1688 which placed William and Mary on the throne, made Parliament the predominant

[1] For recent attacks on the Lords, see below, chap. xxiv.

element in the English government. The king is still legally empowered to veto any bill passed by Parliament, but he never exercises this power. He has in reality only the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, and the right to warn. He cannot permanently oppose the wishes of the majority in Parliament, for should he venture to do so, he could always be brought to terms by cutting off the appropriations necessary to conduct his government.

The cabinet

The king of England must now act through a ministry composed of the important officers of the government, such as the first lord of the treasury, the foreign secretary, the colonial secretary, the secretary of the war department, with the prime minister as their head.[1] The development of this ministry, which is known as the cabinet, has been described in an earlier chapter.[2] It was pretty firmly established under George I and George II, who were glad to let others manage the government for them. While the king nominally appoints the members of the cabinet, that body is in reality a committee selected from the party which has a majority in the House of Commons. The reasons for this were also explained earlier in dealing with the English government in the eighteenth century and need not be repeated here.

How the members of the cabinet are chosen

The party which secures the majority in a parliamentary election is entitled to place its members in all the important government offices. The party leaders hold an informal caucus and agree on a prime minister, who then takes one of the cabinet offices. After the party has chosen its leader he is appointed to some high office (acceptable to him as prime minister) by the king, who charges him with the task of naming, with the advice of his political associates, the other occupants of cabinet positions, who may be selected from among the lords as well as the commons, or from among distinguished men outside of Parliament. Thus it comes about that, unlike

[1] Gladstone's description of the cabinet system is given in *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 258 *sqq.*

[2] See above, pp. 49 *sqq.*

the President of the United States and his cabinet, who must communicate with Congress through messages, reports, or other indirect means, the prime minister and the heads of departments in England themselves sit in Parliament and can therefore present and defend their own proposals.

The cabinet acts as a unit

The body of officials so constituted draft the more important measures to be laid before Parliament and decide on the foreign and domestic policy to be pursued by the government. At the opening of each session of Parliament the general programme of the cabinet is laid before the House of Lords and the House of Commons in the form of the "king's speech," which is read by the sovereign or his representative. In its secret sessions the head of each department presents to the cabinet the measures which he recommends in his particular branch of the government. If, after discussion, these are approved by a majority of the other members, they are submitted to the House of Commons. In all matters the cabinet acts as a unit, and whenever a member cannot agree with the majority on an important point he is bound to resign. The cabinet, therefore, presents a united front to Parliament and the country. An interesting illustration of this is to be found in the story told of Lord Melbourne when prime minister. His cabinet was divided on the question of the duty on grain, and with his back against the door, he declared to them: "Now, is it to lower the price of corn, or is n't it? It does not matter much what we say, but mind, we must all say the same thing."

How ministries rise and fall

Whenever the House of Commons expresses its disapproval of the policy of the ministry, either by defeating an important measure or by a direct vote of censure, the cabinet is bound to do one of two things. It may resign in a body and thus give way to a new ministry made up from the opposite party. If, however, the ministers feel that their policy has popular support outside of Parliament, they may "go to the country"; that is to say, they may ask the king to dissolve the existing Parliament and order a new election in the hope that

the people may indicate its approval of their policy by electing their supporters. The further action of the ministry is then determined by the outcome of the election. The return of a majority of members in favor of the ministerial policy is taken as justification for retaining office. On the other hand, a failure to gain a majority is the signal for the resignation of the entire ministry and the transference of power to their opponents.

The English government more under the influence of public opinion than that of the United States

As the members of the House of Commons are not elected for a definite term of years (though according to law elections must be held at least every five years), that body may be dissolved at any time for the purpose of securing an expression of the popular will on any important issue. It is thus clear that the British government is more sensitive to public opinion than are governments where the members of the legislatures are chosen for a definite term of years. For example, in the United States, Congressmen are elected for two years and Senators for six; consequently when a crisis arises it usually has to be settled by men who were not chosen according to their views on that particular question, while in England a new election can be held with direct reference to the special issue at hand.

The House of Lords

Nevertheless, the reader will naturally ask, how is it that the British government can be so democratic and yet retain, in its upper house, a body of hereditary peers responsible to no constituents? The explanation is that the House of Commons, by reason of its ancient and exclusive right of initiating all money bills, can control the king and force him, if necessary, to create enough new peers to pass any measure blocked by the House of Lords. In practice the king does not have to do more than threaten such a measure to bring the House of Lords to terms.

Unpopularity of the House of Lords

Although many bills have been defeated in the House of Lords during the nineteenth century, a sort of constitutional understanding has grown up that the upper house must yield to an unmistakable and definite expression of public opinion

in favor of a measure which it has previously opposed. However, the House of Lords is increasingly unpopular with a large class in England. Its members for the most part take little or no interest in their duties and rarely attend the sessions. The opposition of the peers to the educational bill introduced in 1906, and also to the budget of 1909, again raised the question of the abolition or complete reorganization of the upper house, and a compromise was reached in the Parliament Act of 1911 by which, under certain circumstances, the House of Commons may force a bill through in spite of the Lords.[1]

English political parties

The smooth working of the English cabinet system may be partially attributed to the fact that during the nineteenth century there were only two political parties represented in Parliament, — the Conservatives, who dropped the name Tory after the first parliamentary reform, and the Liberals, who abandoned the name of Whig about the same time. The leaders of the former party came principally from the aristocracy and landed proprietors, while the latter found its chiefs among the middle classes. These two parties were alternately in power, and it was not until 1906 that their joint monopoly of politics was threatened by the election of over fifty labor members, some of whom are organized into a solid group acting independently. The Irish party, of course, stands firmly for home rule, but is willing to coöperate with other parties, especially the Liberals, to obtain its ends. At the present juncture it appears possible that England may develop a many-party system comparable to that existing in the countries of the Continent.

Social Reforms

67. While England was transforming herself into a democracy by remodeling her Parliament and her local government, the people gradually gained the right freely to discuss political questions in the newspapers and in public meetings, and to

[1] See below, chap. xxiv.

express religious opinions differing from those sanctioned by the government without thereby sacrificing the possibility of holding office.

Taxes on newspapers and other publications

Freedom of the press from governmental censorship is commonly regarded as having been established in 1695 by the refusal of Parliament to renew an old law providing for such control. However, in times of disturbance the government adopted repressive measures, as, for instance, during the French Revolution and in 1819, when there was extensive popular agitation. Moreover the stamp duties on newspapers and advertisements hampered the publication of cheap journals for the diffusion of political information among the masses and were systematically used by the government for this purpose. In 1819 the tax was extended even to leaflets and tracts which had hitherto been allowed free circulation. The necessity of paying an eight-cent tax on each copy made the average price of a newspaper fourteen cents, while the price of the London *Times* was eighteen cents. In addition to these stamp duties there was a special tax on paper, which increased its cost about fifty per cent.

Taxes on the press

These "taxes on knowledge," as they were called, were attacked by those who advocated popular education, and by the political reformers who wanted cheap newspapers through which to carry on agitation.[1] Some opponents of the stamp tax openly violated the law, but the more moderate wing set about securing a repeal of the obnoxious taxes by Parliament. At length, in 1833 the tax on advertisements, and in 1836 the stamp taxes, were reduced, bringing the price of most London papers down to ten cents. Twenty years later these taxes were swept away altogether, and in 1861 the duty on printing paper was removed, and thus England secured a free press. The government, however, does not give low postal rates to the newspapers as in the United States.

[1] For Bulwer-Lytton's speech in favor of a free press, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 270 *sqq*.

Freedom of the press

No less important to democracy than freedom of the press is the right to hold public meetings and to criticise the government. In common with other European monarchies, England, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, imprisoned, and otherwise severely punished, those who spoke disrespectfully of the king and Parliament. During the eighteenth century, particularly in the period of the French Revolution, the English government severely stamped out all open criticism, and again in 1819, owing to the violent agitation for parliamentary reform, police surveillance was established over public meetings and the press. At length, however, the government, finding its efforts futile, gave up altogether attempts to silence the press. Thus by the middle of the century freedom of speech was established, and now any one may write or say anything "which a jury consisting of twelve shopkeepers think it expedient should be said or written."

Religious liberty

It was natural that, in the midst of this general movement for political liberty and freedom of the press, the Dissenters and Catholics should have put in a claim for the abolition of the laws which placed them under many disabilities. The Dissenters, although they enjoyed a certain liberty of religious worship, were excluded from municipal offices and from all places of trust, civil and military, in the government, although, curiously enough, they were not forbidden to sit in Parliament — a disability imposed on Catholics in addition to exclusion from public offices. The rapid increase of the dissenting sects in wealth, numbers, and influence, especially after the appearance of the Methodists, at last forced Parliament to respect their demand, and in 1828 the old laws against them were repealed, and they were admitted freely to public offices on condition that they would take an oath "upon the true faith of a Christian" not to use their influence to injure or weaken the Established Church. The following year the Catholics secured the passage of the famous Emancipation Act, which admitted them to both houses of Parliament and to practically all municipal and government

offices, upon condition that they would take an oath renouncing the temporal supremacy of the Pope and disclaiming any intention of injuring the Protestant religion.[1]

Religion and the schools

These reforms by no means took religious controversies out of politics in England, for the religious sects are still at war over the question as to who shall control the schools. Anglicans, Catholics, and Dissenters during the nineteenth century built schoolhouses and maintained schools of their own, and when the demand for free popular education became so strong that in 1870 the government provided for the erection and equipment of schools at public expense, religious bodies began to contend among themselves for a representation on the school boards having charge of the government schools. All of the sects agreed that education without religious instruction was bad, but they differed hotly on the particular kind of religious instruction that should be given. The problem of how to satisfy the demands of the several bitterly contending sects constitutes one of the main issues of English politics at the present time. Nevertheless, the efficiency of the schools has steadily increased, and there has been a corresponding decline in illiteracy. In 1843 thirty-two per cent of the men and forty-nine per cent of the women had to sign their names in the marriage registers with a cross. In 1903 only two per cent of the men and three per cent of the women were unable to write their own names in the registers.

The brutal criminal law

While some reformers were busy with securing freedom of the press and removing religious disabilities, others were attacking the brutal criminal law, which, at the opening of the nineteenth century, as an English writer has observed, sacrificed the lives of men with a reckless barbarity worthier of an Eastern despot than of a Christian state.[2] This drastic code included no less than two hundred and fifty offenses, for which the death

[1] For speeches for and against religious toleration, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 274 *sqq*.

[2] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 279 *sqq*.

penalty was imposed. In 1815 a young woman was executed for stealing a trifling article, the judge declaring that he wanted to make an example of her; and some years later a boy nine years old was sentenced to death for breaking a window and stealing four cents' worth of paint from a shop. It is estimated that between 1810 and 1845 there were fourteen hundred executions for acts which were not regarded as capital offenses after the latter date. The treatment of the prisoners in the overcrowded jails, where young and old, hardened criminals and little children, and men and women were crowded together, was so atrocious as to be well-nigh indescribable.

Reform of the criminal law

It required many years of agitation, however, to move the British Parliament, and it was only by the gradual process of abolishing one death sentence after another that the long list of capital offenses was at last reduced to three in 1861. For example, the act making it a capital offense to steal five shillings or more from a shop was repealed in 1820; and in 1823 transportation to a penal colony was substituted for the death penalty in cases of making false entries in marriage registers. In 1835, after a parliamentary investigation had revealed the horrible conditions of prisons, a law was passed providing for government inspection and the improvement of their administration, and this marked the beginning of prison reform, which includes sanitary buildings, separation of the sexes and of the hardened criminals from the younger offenders, and a more enlightened treatment of criminals generally, with a view to reform them and protect society rather than to wreak vengeance upon them.

Wretchedness of life in the English factories

The cruelty of the criminal law had its origin in the Middle Ages, but with the coming of the Industrial Revolution in the reign of George III new forms of inhumanity had arisen. These were the result of the factory system, which brought untold misery to the working classes of England.[1] Great factory buildings were hastily erected by men ignorant of the most elementary

[1] For extracts from parliamentary reports on conditions in the factories, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 282 *sqq*.

principles of sanitary science, and often too avaricious to care for anything but space enough to operate the machines and light enough to enable the laborers to do their work. Around the factories there sprang up long, dreary rows of grimy brick cottages, where the workmen and their families were crowded together. To these industrial centers flocked thousands of landless and homeless men and women dependent upon the factory owners for the opportunity to earn their daily bread. Fluctuations in trade caused long periods of enforced idleness, which resulted in great uncertainty in the life of the workman.

Horrors of child labor

The introduction of steam-driven machinery had made possible the use of child labor on a large scale, and it was the condition of the children which first attracted the attention of philanthropists and reformers. Thousands of little paupers were taken from the poorhouses and nominally apprenticed, but practically sold, to the proprietors of the mills. Nor were pauper children the only ones to suffer. Necessity or greed on the part of the parents, and the demand for "cheap labor" on the part of the manufacturers, brought thousands of other children into industrial life. Parliamentary reports tell us of children under five years of age working in the mines, of coal drawers but little older crawling on hands and knees through narrow subterranean passages, dragging heavy carts of coal, and of mere lads laboring in pin mills at high tension for twelve hours a day.

General misery of the factory hands and operatives in the mines

The conditions of adult labor, save in the most skilled classes, were almost as wretched as those of child labor. Women and girls were employed in great numbers in mills and even in the dark and dangerous recesses of the mines, which were badly ventilated and perilous to work in; dangerous machinery was not properly safeguarded, and the working time was excessively prolonged. The misery of the poor is reflected in Mrs. Browning's poem, "The Cry of the Children," in the bitter scorn which Carlyle poured out on the heads of the factory owners, in the impassioned pages of Kingsley's *Alton Locke*, and in the vivid word pictures of Dickens.

Opposition of economists and statesmen to factory legislation

The working classes were excluded from representation in Parliament, they were denied opportunities for education, and the statesmen of the time refused to take action in their behalf until after long and violent agitation. In this refusal Parliament was supported by the economic theorists, — Malthus, Ricardo, and others, — who defended the rights of mill owners as Bossuet had defended the divine right of kings.

Parliament at last begins to adopt reforms

Ardent reformers disregarding the advice of the theorists, and discontented workmen filling the country with riot, at last forced Parliament to undertake to improve conditions. Indeed, the bad ventilation, scanty food, long hours, and lack of sanitation led to the spread of epidemics in the factory districts, and action could not longer be delayed without endangering the health of the well-to-do. Parliament, however, at first refused to do more than assume some responsibility for the pauper apprentices, by passing an act (1802) reducing the hours of labor for such children to seventy-two per week, and making some other regulations on their behalf, such as compelling employers to furnish at least one suit of clothes a year.

Robert Owen

An unselfish champion of the working class now appeared in the person of Robert Owen, a successful manufacturer, who had shown by experiments the advantages of treating employees with consideration. Beginning in 1815, he labored for four years to secure the passage of an effective measure in the interests of children. His appeal to the manufacturers for support of his factory legislation was, however, unavailing, and the outcome of his efforts was the mutilation of his original bill beyond recognition in an act of 1819, which merely forbade the employment in the cotton mills of children under nine, and limited the working time for those between nine and sixteen to twelve hours per day.

The report of the factory commission appointed by Parliament in 1832

New advocates of factory reform continued to urge additional measures on Parliament. Among these were Richard Oastler, Thomas Sadler, John Fielden, and Lord Ashley, to whose unselfish and untiring labors was largely due the creation of the

public opinion which induced Parliament in 1832 to appoint a select commission for the purpose of investigating the whole question of factory legislation. The following year it made an unqualified report in favor of interference on behalf of children employed in factories, which resulted in a new bill still further reducing the working hours for children and providing for the first time for regular factory inspectors. In 1842 Lord Ashley carried through Parliament a mining law which forbade the employment of women and children in underground occupations.

Agitation for a ten-hour day for women and children

These laws did not satisfy the reformers, and they now began to work for another measure, restricting the labor of women and children in mills to ten hours per day exclusive of meal times. This proposition gave rise to a heated contest in the House of Commons between manufacturers and landed proprietors. In vain did John Bright (champion of the abolition of slavery in the United States) denounce the proposition as "most injurious and destructive to the best interests of the country," "a delusion practiced upon the working classes," and "one of the worst measures ever passed."[1] Smarting under the action of the manufacturers in forcing free trade upon them,[2] the landed proprietors rejoiced in this opportunity to retaliate, and in 1847 the ten-hour bill for women and children became a law. In practice it applied to all adults as well, for the mills could not run after the women and children had stopped working.

John Morley's description of England's measures for protecting the laboring classes

With this great victory for the reformers the general resistance to state interference was broken down, and year after year new measures were carried through Parliament, revising and supplementing earlier laws, until to-day England does more than any other European country to protect the factory operatives. In the language of Lord Morley, England has "a complete, minute, voluminous code for the protection of labor; buildings must be kept clear of effluvia; dangerous machinery must be fenced; children and young persons must not clean it while

[1] Extracts from Bright's speech are given in *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 285 *sq.*

[2] See below, p. 404.

in motion; their hours are not only limited but fixed; continuous employment must not exceed a given number of hours, varying with the trade, but prescribed by law in given cases; a statutable number of holidays is imposed; the children must go to school, and the employer must every week have a certificate to that effect; if an accident happens, notice must be sent to the proper authorities; special provisions are made for bake houses, for lacemaking, for collieries, and for a whole schedule of other special callings; for the due enforcement and vigilant supervision of this code of minute prescriptions, there is an immense host of inspectors, certifying surgeons, and other authorities, whose business it is to 'speed and post o'er land and ocean' in restless guardianship of every kind of labor, from that of the woman who plaits straw at her cottage door to the miner who descends into the bowels of the earth, and the seaman who conveys the fruits and materials of universal industry to and fro between the remotest parts of the globe." Important as are the measures thus summarized, far more revolutionary legislation for the working class has been enacted during the last decade than during the entire nineteenth century.[1]

Free Trade

Policy of protection in England before the nineteenth century

68. From the fourteenth century onward England endeavored, by high tariffs, navigation laws, and numerous other measures, to protect her manufacturers, farmers, and ship owners against foreign competition. Special tariffs were imposed on the manufactured goods of other countries; bounties were paid from the government treasury to encourage various forms of commercial enterprise; Englishmen were obliged to import their goods from the colonies in English ships, no matter how much cheaper they could get them carried by Dutch merchantmen; and high duties were imposed on grain.

Adam Smith and other economists denounced this system of protection and advocated free trade. However, the immediate

[1] See below, chap. xxiv.

impetus to the movement for abolishing protective duties and opening British markets freely to the products of all nations was given by the objections of the owners of the new factories to the tariffs on grain, which, they argued, made the bread of their workmen dear and prevented undeveloped countries from procuring English manufactures in exchange for their breadstuffs. They contended, for example, that Russians and Americans would be happy to buy English cloth, shoes, and cutlery, if they could freely send to England, in return, a portion of their great crops of wheat, rye, oats, and barley. Having little fear of foreign competition in their industries, and owning no land, they wanted no protection for themselves or the farmers.

Manufacturers demand a repeal of the duties on grain

The manufacturers began, therefore, to attack the Corn Laws,[1] as the tariff acts protecting grain were called. The duties on grain had been made especially high after 1815, when the fall of the inflated war prices threatened to ruin the farmers. One measure even forbade the importation of wheat altogether whenever its price in England was below two dollars and a half a bushel, and later acts attempted to keep the price high by a sliding scale of duties according to which the tariff varied with the price; that is, when the price of wheat rose too high in England, the tariff would be lowered to admit foreign grain, but when English prices were low the tariff would be raised to check foreign competition and so benefit the farmers.

The Corn Laws

To secure the repeal of these duties on grain and to propagate the principles of free trade generally, the manufacturers founded in 1838 the Anti-Corn Law League, and for almost ten years this organization, under the brilliant leadership of Cobden[2] and Bright, carried on one of the most thoroughgoing campaigns of popular education in the history of democracy, expending in one year over a million dollars in publications and meetings. The attack was concentrated on the Corn Laws

The Anti-Corn Law League, 1838

[1] The term "corn," usually confined to Indian corn, or maize, in the United States, is commonly used in England to mean grain in general.

[2] Some of Cobden's arguments against the Corn Laws are given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 287 *sqq.*

because it was easier to rouse feeling against the landlords than in favor of any abstract theories of political economy. It was a war on the landed aristocracy.

Sir Robert Peel carries the repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846, and opens the way to free trade

The agitation was brought to a crisis in 1845 by a failure of crops in England and a potato famine in Ireland, which raised the price of food stuffs enormously and brought thousands to the verge of starvation, especially in Ireland. In the midst of such distress it appeared to thinking men nothing short of criminal to maintain high prices of grain by law. Consequently Sir Robert Peel, then prime minister, determined that the Corn Laws must go, in spite of the fact that he had hitherto defended them, and in 1846 he succeeded in carrying through Parliament a law which led to their practical repeal. Though compelled to resign immediately after the passage of this bill, Peel had given the whole protective system in England its death blow, since it was chiefly the tariff on grain that could claim any really active defenders.

Free trade established, 1852–1867

Within ten years all of the old navigation laws were abolished and English ports opened freely to the ships of other nations. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852, removed the duties on one hundred and twenty-three articles entirely, and reduced them on one hundred and thirty-three more. On his return to office, some fifteen years later, he made a clean sweep of all *protective* duties, retaining, for revenue purposes, those on tea, wines, cocoa, and a few other articles.

Tendency toward free trade in Europe followed by a reaction in the seventies

The tendency toward free trade was not confined to England. Indeed, until the seventies, it looked as if a network of commercial treaties, combined with low tariffs, would carry all Europe into a free-trade policy. The liberals in France under Napoleon III favored it, and, as we have seen, Germany had accepted it in a modified form until Bismarck's tariff law of 1879. At last, however, a reaction set in. The protectionists rose to power in the continental countries; the United States converted what was once regarded as a temporary policy of encouraging infant industries and of increasing the revenue

during the Civil War into a permanent policy of high protection; and foreign competitors, having free access to England's markets, began to undersell her at home as well as abroad.

Growing dissatisfaction with free trade in England

This radical change in the economic conditions in the continental countries and the United States has convinced many Englishmen that some alteration will have to be made in England's free-trade policy. In the election of 1906 Mr. Chamberlain sought to make the establishment of some form of a protective tariff the leading campaign issue, and although the free traders carried the day, the arguments of the protectionists will doubtless continue to be urged with ever greater insistence.

The Irish Question

69. In addition to the important problems the English have had to solve at home, they have been constantly involved in perplexities in their dealings with the Irish, who belong to the Celtic race and differ essentially from their English neighbors in sentiments and traditions. The principal troubles with Ireland have been over the land question, the disestablishment of the English Church in Ireland, and Home Rule.

The land question

The first of these questions, the land question, grew out of the fact that Ireland had been frequently invaded by the English, and Irish estates had been handed over to English warriors, fortune hunters, and royal favorites. These invasions dated back to the twelfth century, when, under Henry II (1154–1189), certain eastern districts, known as the "Pale," were wrested from the Irish. In the sixteenth century, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a revolt of the Irish led to new conquests and the seizure of more estates by the English. Half a century later, when the Puritans were quarreling with Charles I, the Irish made another attempt to throw off English rule, but they were severely punished by Cromwell, who scourged the country with fire and sword and made a new and still more extensive confiscation of their lands. Again, during

the troubles of the English Revolution of 1688, the Irish were severely punished for taking the part of the Catholic king, James II, and were again conquered and more lands were taken from them.

Now the English landlords, to whom these estates were given, and their descendants, for the most part, lived in England. In the nineteenth century millions of pounds yearly were drained away from Ireland to pay absentee landlords, who rarely set foot in that country and took little or no interest in their tenants beyond the collection of their rents. If the tenants did not pay or could not pay, they were speedily evicted from their cottages and lands. It was estimated in 1847 that about one third of the entire rental of Ireland was paid to absentee landlords.

The condition of the peasantry

Throughout large portions of Ireland the peasants were constantly on the verge of starvation. They were deprived of nearly all incentive to work at the improvement of their little holdings, because they were liable to be evicted and lose the results of their own labors. Whenever there was a failure of the potato crop, on which from one third to one half the population depended for food, there were scenes of misery in Ireland which defy description. This was the case in the "Black Year of Forty-Seven," when the potato crop failed almost entirely and thousands died of starvation in spite of the relief afforded by the government.[1] It was in the midst of this terrible famine that the stream of emigration began to flow toward America. Within half a century four million emigrants left the shores of Ireland for other countries, principally the United States, taking with them their bitter resentment against England.

The Protestant Established Church in Ireland

The second source of trouble in Ireland was the Established Church. When England adopted the Protestant faith an attempt was made to force it upon the Irish, who however clung

[1] For contemporary accounts of suffering during famines in Ireland, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 297 *sqq.*

steadfastly to the Pope and their ancient Church. The monasteries were suppressed, the monks driven out and their lands seized and handed over to Protestants. Catholic clergy were expelled from their parishes and Protestant priests installed in their places, to be supported by tithes collected from a people still loyal to their old faith. Even in the darkest days of the nineteenth century, when Irish peasants were starving, the Established Church in Ireland continued to draw its ample revenues from the tithes and endowments, although its members numbered but one tenth of the population. These tithes, however, were collected from the peasants only with the utmost difficulty and pitched battles were often fought between them and the police when the latter undertook to drive off the last cow to pay the dues to the hated priest of an alien faith.[1]

Disestablishment of the English Church

It is small wonder, therefore, that the Irish were deeply embittered on the religious question and began a movement to overthrow the Anglican Church in their midst. By the Catholic Emancipation Act, mentioned above, Irish Catholics, along with the English Catholics, had been admitted to Parliament, as well as to other public offices; and they carried on an agitation which ended in 1869 in the passage of an act by Parliament which disestablished the English Church in Ireland and abolished its tithes.[2] The Anglicans, however, were allowed to retain the beautiful buildings which had been seized during the period of the Reformation, and the clergy were recompensed for the loss of the tithes, which they found it difficult to collect, by a large grant of money from the government.

Although the burden of the tithes was thus removed from the peasants, the evils of absentee landlordism were not mitigated; and finding themselves victorious in the struggle against the Anglican Church they undertook an agitation for a drastic land reform.

[1] For extracts from parliamentary reports showing the difficulties of collecting tithes, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 293 *sqq*.

[2] For John Bright's plea for disestablishment, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 295 *sq*.

Parnell and the Land League, 1879

In 1879 a great Land League, with Charles Stewart Parnell, a member of Parliament, at its head, was established with the aim of securing three things for the Irish peasant, — fair rent, fixed holding, and fair sale; that is to say, they asked for legislation providing that the rent should not be fixed by the landlord at any amount he thought he could get, but by a court taking into consideration the fair value of the land; that the tenant should hold as long as he paid the rent so fixed; and finally that, in case he surrendered his holding, he should be allowed to sell his improvements to the tenant who succeeded him.

The Irish land acts, 1881–1903

Parnell, with the support of the Irish members in Parliament, resorted to "filibustering" until that body was forced in 1881 to pass a land act granting these three demands. This measure has been supplemented by land-purchase acts by which the government puts at the disposal of the tenants money to buy their holdings, with the privilege of repayment on the installment plan. One of these acts, passed in 1903 during the administration of Mr. Balfour, appropriates a practically unlimited amount for this purpose, and offers a considerable inducement to landlords to sell, so that the land question seems in a fair way to be settled to the satisfaction of the peasantry.[1]

Home Rule

The third source of trouble between England and Ireland has been the contest over Home Rule. Until 1801 Ireland had maintained a separate parliament of her own; but in that year the English government determined to suppress it, because it enjoyed a larger degree of independence than was deemed compatible with the security of English rule. The Act of Union of 1801 abolished the Irish parliament and provided that Ireland should be represented by one hundred members in the House of Commons and, in the House of Lords, by twenty-eight peers chosen by the Irish baronage. This Act of Union was really forced upon the Irish by gross bribery of members of their

[1] The Land-Purchase Act of 1885, passed by Lord Salisbury, set apart twenty-five million dollars; that of 1888, a second sum of the same amount; that of 1891 devoted one hundred and seventy million dollars to the purchase of lands, and that of 1903 an almost unlimited sum.

parliament, and consequently the Irish patriots resented it. Accordingly, they at once began an agitation for Home Rule, that is, for a parliament of their own in which they can legislate on their own affairs instead of being forced to rely upon the British Parliament, where the English and the Scotch have an overwhelming majority.

Daniel O'Connell

The repeal of the Act of Union was warmly urged by Daniel O'Connell after the emancipation of 1829, and at the general election of 1834 forty members of Parliament favored Home Rule. In 1842 *The Nation* was founded to champion the cause, and a staff of brilliant writers were engaged to voice it. A Repeal Association was organized, monster meetings, said to have been attended by half a million people, were arranged by O'Connell, and the examples of Belgium and Greece in winning independence were cited as indications of what the Irish might do. All Ireland seemed on the verge of rebellion, and Irish Americans planned an invasion of Canada. The British government met this agitation by stationing thirty-five thousand troops in the island, and O'Connell, in spite of his violent and inflammatory speeches, shrank from the test of civil war.

Gladstone espouses the cause of Irish Home Rule, 1886

O'Connell died in 1847, but the cause of Home Rule did not perish with him, for it was taken up by the Fenians and the Land League and thus kept steadily before the people. In 1882 a decided impetus to the movement was given by the shocking murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Burke, the undersecretary for Ireland, in Phœnix Park, Dublin. This deed aroused the horror of the civilized world and convinced Gladstone that nothing short of Home Rule could solve the perennial Irish problem. After the parliamentary election of 1886, which gave him a small majority in the Commons and made him dependent upon the Irish members for their support, he undertook to secure the repeal of the Act of Union.[1] Many of his followers, who did not believe

[1] Extracts from Gladstone's speech on Home Rule in 1886 are given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 301 *sq.*

in the policy of Home Rule, broke away from his leadership and formed the party of the Liberal Unionists, thus defeating the bill by about thirty votes. Seven years later, when Gladstone was again in power, he brought forward a new Home Rule bill providing that the Irish should have a parliament of their own at Dublin and also retain representation in that of the United Kingdom. This bill, though passed by the Commons, was rejected by the House of Lords. For some years thereafter the issue almost dropped out of English politics, but the majority of the Irish members of Parliament have continued to agitate the question, and Liberal victories in the elections of 1906 and 1910 again raised hopes for Irish independence. Indeed, it appears that some form of Home Rule will be granted in the immediate future, for at the present time (summer of 1912) the proposal is under discussion in Parliament.

REFERENCES

Parliament at the Opening of the Nineteenth Century: Extract from WALPOLE, *History of England since 1815*, in BEARD, *Introduction to the English Historians*, pp. 538–548; SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 10–18; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 409–415.

The Reform Bill of 1832: Extract from WALPOLE, *History of England since 1815*, in BEARD, pp. 549–565; ROSE, *Rise of Democracy in England*, pp. 9–52; LEE, *Source Book of English History*, pp. 519–529; TERRY, *A History of England*, pp. 990–995; HAZEN, pp. 428–438.

The Chartist Movement: ROSE, pp. 84–146; LEE, pp. 530–539; HAZEN, pp. 446–450.

The Reform Bill of 1867: Extract from PAUL, *A History of Modern England*, in BEARD, pp. 566–581; TERRY, pp. 1037–1042; HAZEN, pp. 461–464.

The Enfranchisement of the Agricultural Laborer: Extract from MORLEY, *Life of Gladstone*, in BEARD, pp. 582–593; HAZEN, pp. 492–496.

The Cabinet System: LOWELL, *The Government of England*, Vol. I; extract from BAGEHOT, *The English Constitution*, in BEARD, pp. 594–607.

The Establishment of Religious Liberty in England: MAY, *Constitutional History of England*, chaps. xii–xiv; LEE, pp. 497–518; KENDALL, *Source Book of English History*, pp. 382–387; HAZEN, pp. 425–428.

Factory Legislation: CHEYNEY, *Social and Industrial History of England*, pp. 244–260; KENDALL, pp. 401–406.

The Free Trade Movement: KENDALL, pp. 406–413; HAZEN, pp. 450–455.

The Religious Controversy and Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland: JOHNSTON AND SPENCER, *Ireland's Story*, pp. 293–301, 313–323; HAZEN, pp. 471–472.

The Land Question in Ireland: JOHNSTON AND SPENCER, pp. 324–338; HAZEN, pp. 472–477, 490–492.

Home Rule Movement in Ireland: KENDALL, pp. 391–400; HAZEN, pp. 497–504.

The Irish in America: JOHNSTON AND SPENCER, pp. 348–359.

CHAPTER XX

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Extension of British Dominion in India

The British extend their empire while making reforms at home

70. The story of the British struggles for colonial dominions and world markets — the rivalry with the Dutch in the Spice Islands, the wars for Spanish trade, the struggle with France in India and North America — we have brought down to the settlement at Vienna, which left England foremost among the commercial and colonial powers of all time. The task of developing the resources acquired in India, Africa, Canada, and Australasia, was one of the important problems which the eighteenth century bequeathed to the nineteenth.

British dominion in India at the opening of the nineteenth century

Turning first to India, the British rule, in the opening years of the nineteenth century, extended over the Bengal region and far up the Ganges valley beyond Delhi. A narrow strip along the eastern coast, the southern point of the peninsula, and the island of Ceylon had also been brought under England's control, and in the west she held Bombay and a considerable area north of Surat. In addition to these regions which the English administered directly, there were a number of princes, such as the Nizam of Hyderabad, over whom they exercised the right of "protection." They had secured a foothold which made it evident that the Mogul emperor, who retained but the shadow of power at Delhi, could never recover the shattered dominions of the great Aurangzeb. The French and Portuguese possessions had declined into mere trading posts, and in the heart of India only one power disputed the advance of the English toward the complete conquest of the peninsula.

The Mahratta wars

This one political power was a union of native princes, known as the Mahratta Confederacy. The country occupied by this confederation extended inward from the Bombay coast and was inclosed on the western border by mountain ranges. The ruling princes, however, who had formed the confederation, were usually warring with one another, except when dangers from without compelled them to unite. If it had not been for the jealousy amongst these princes, they might have checked the growing power of the English and seized India for themselves as it fell from the relaxing grasp of the great Mogul. But they were generally contending among themselves, and where their territory bordered on British dominion the people were kept in constant turmoil by their restless and unsettled life. At length the English determined to suppress them altogether and in a great war (1816–1818) they were finally conquered, a large part of their territories was annexed, and some of the princes were transformed into feudal lords under British sovereignty, — a position which they retain to-day.

The British advance to the borders of China

While pacifying the interior of India the British were also occupied with the defense and extension of their frontiers on the north, east, and west. For six hundred miles along the northern frontier, where the foothills of the Himalayas gradually sink into the valley of the Ganges, there was chronic disorder fomented by the Gurkhas, — a race composed of a mixture of the hill men and the Hindu plain dwellers. Periodically the Gurkha chieftains, like the Highlanders of Scotland or the Mahrattas of western India, would sweep down into the valley, loot the villages of the defenseless peasants, and then retire to their mountain retreats. A few of the most powerful of these chieftains succeeded in building up a sort of confederation under a rajah in whose name they governed Nepal, as their kingdom was called. They then sought to extend their sway at the expense of the British in the Ganges valley, but were badly beaten in a two years' war (1814–1816) and compelled to cede to the British Empire a vast northern region, which brought the

Anglo-Indian boundary at that point to the borders of Tibet, high up in the Himalaya mountains.

Annexation in Burma, 1826–1885

While the British were busy with the Mahrattas and Nepalese, the Burmese were pressing into the Bengal districts from the east, and as they had never met the disciplined Europeans in armed conflict, they were confident that they would be able to expand westward indefinitely. Their ambitions were, however, checked by the British (1824–1826), and they were compelled to cede to the victors a considerable strip of territory along the east coast of the Bay of Bengal. Having thus made their first definite advance beyond the confines of India proper, the British, after twenty-five years of peace with the Burmese, engaged in a second war against them in 1852 and made themselves masters of the Irawadi valley and a long narrow strip of coast below Rangoon.[1]

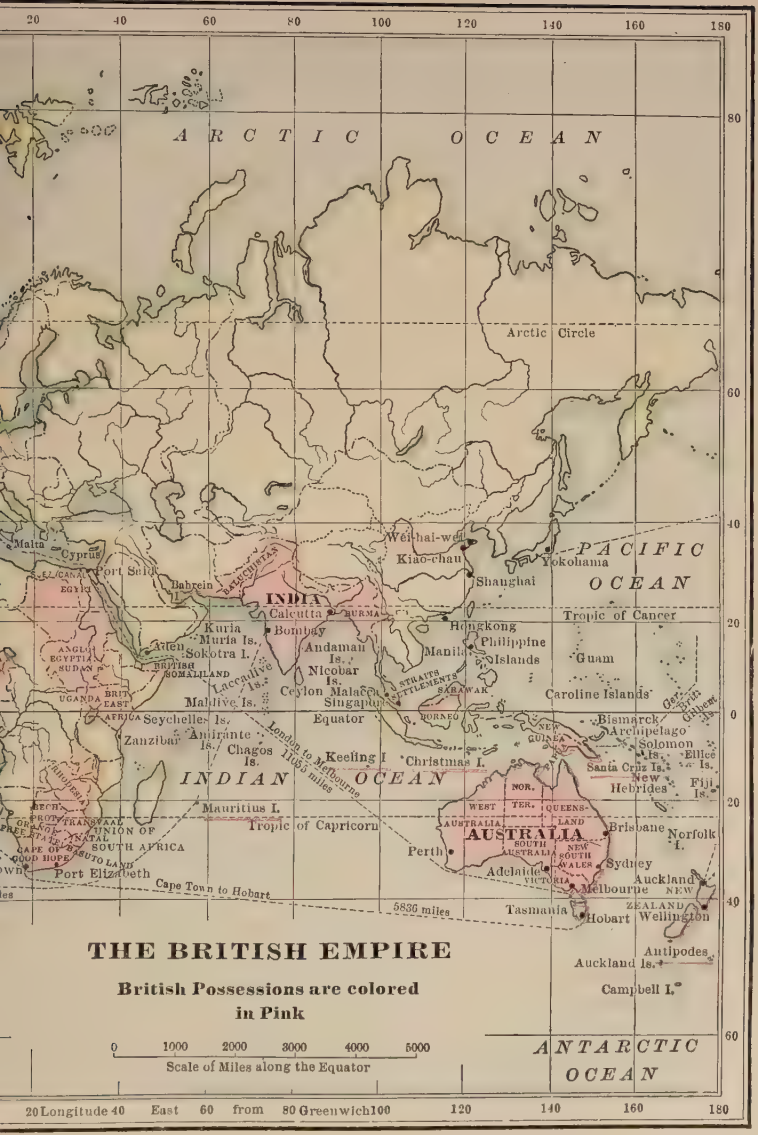
Conquest of the Sindh and Punjab regions

After the gains made at the expense of the Burmese, the northwestern frontier next attracted the attention of the conquering British. In the valley of the Indus, where the soldiers of Alexander the Great had faltered on their eastward march, there was a fertile region known as the Sindh, ruled over by an Ameer, who seems to have shown an irritating independence in his dealings with the British. On the ground that the Ameer's government was inefficient and corrupt, the British invaded his territory in 1843, and after some brilliant campaigning they wrested his domain from him and added it to their Indian Empire, thus winning a strong western frontier. This enterprise was scarcely concluded when a war broke out with the Sikhs in the northwest, which resulted in the addition of the great Punjab region farther up the valley of the Indus, northeast of Sindh, and the extension of the boundary of the Anglo-Indian Empire to the borders of Afghanistan.[2] In addition to

[1] Additional annexations were made after another Burmese war in 1884–1885.

[2] The province of Baluchistan on the northwest has been brought under British dominion by gradual annexations beginning in 1876 and extending down to 1903. Several of the districts were formally organized as British Baluchistan in 1887. In attempting to extend their authority over the neighboring Afghanistan,

ARCTIC OCEAN
Grant Land
Pr. Patrick I.
Parry Islands
North Devon
Baffin Sea
Baffin Land
Davis Strait
GREENLAND
Banks Land
Victoria Land
Bering Strait
ALASKA
Arctic Circle
Dawson
Klondike
YUKON
TERRITORIES
Hudson Bay
Shetland Is.
Bering Sea
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
DOMINION OF CANADA
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
Liverpool to Quebec 2584 miles
Queen Charlotte Islands
Vancouver I.
Victoria
Vancouver
Ontario
Quebec
Montreal
NEWFOUNDLAND
St. Johns
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
Liverpool to New York 3060 miles
Channel Is.
Vancouver to Yokohama 4320 miles
Chicago
Ottawa
Liverpool to Auckland 16303 miles
San Francisco
UNITED STATES
New York
Washington
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bermuda Is.
Auckland to Sydney 1260 miles
New Orleans
Bahama Is.
Gibraltar
Tropic of Cancer
Hawaii
Porto Rico
Leeward Is.
Jamaica
Dominica
Barbados
Windward Is.
Trinidad
PACIFIC OCEAN
Panama
BRITISH GUIANA
GAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
Palmyra
Fanning I.
Christmas I.
Phœnix Is.
Malden I.
Equator
Union Group
Samoan Is.
Manhiki Is.
Liverpool to Auckland 10692 miles
Liverpool
Ascension
St. Helena
Tonga Is.
Cook Is.
Tropic of Capricorn
Pitcairn I.
Ducie I.
Rio de Janeiro
Bombay
Kermadec Is.
Valparaiso
Buenos Aires
Tristan da Cunha
Chatham I.
Falkland Is.
Magellan Str.
South Georgia
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
South Shetlands
Graham Land
180 160 140 120 100 Longitude 80 West 60 from 40 Greenwich 20



THE BRITISH EMPIRE

British Possessions are colored in Pink

0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000

Scale of Miles along the Equator

this policy of annexation through war with the natives, a process of "peaceful assimilation" was adopted under the governorship of Lord Dalhousie (1848–1856), who quietly transformed "protected" states into British provinces whenever the direct line of the ruling houses became extinct.[1]

Causes of discontent in India

It was inevitable that the conquest and annexation of so many native Indian states should stir up intense hatred against the British aggressors. In the provinces which were under the direct administration of the British, ruling families and the official classes attached to them had been set aside, and in those which were merely under the suzerainty of the conquerors as feudal states, the rulers chafed at their vassalage. The Mohammedans cherished a religious abhorrence for the Christian intruders in addition to their bitterness at the loss of their former power. The native Mahrattas had good reason to feel that only the advent of the British had prevented them from transforming the peninsula into a Mahratta empire.[2]

Introduction of greased cartridges causes trouble

There were embers of discontent everywhere, and they were fanned into a consuming flame in 1857 by several military reforms undertaken by the English government. The year before, the British had become impressed with the advantages of a new rifle invented by a Frenchman. It was loaded with a paper cartridge containing powder and ball, which was slipped into the barrel and then rammed down into place. In order to slide more easily into the gun the paper was greased, and the soldier had to tear off one end of it with his teeth so that the powder would take fire when the cap was exploded.

The sepoys mutiny in 1857

The introduction of this new rifle seemed innocent enough, but the government had not taken into account certain religious scruples of the sepoys, as the native troops were called. The

the British have waged two wars with the ruler of that country, one in 1837–1843 and the last in 1878–1880. The problem how to maintain control over Afghanistan and use it as a protecting state against Russia's southeasterly advance now constitutes one of the fundamental issues of Anglo-Indian politics.

[1] For Dalhousie's justification for annexations, see *Readings*, Vol. II, 307 *sqq*.

[2] For a summary of Indian grievances, see *Readings*, Vol. II, 310 *sqq*.

Hindu regarded touching the fat of a cow as contamination worse than death, and to Mohammedans the fat of swine was almost as horrifying. The government soon heard of this grievance and promised not to use the objectionable grease. Peace was thus maintained for a time, but in May, 1857, some soldiers at Meerut, in the broad plain between the Jumna and the Ganges, refused to receive the cartridges served out to them and were thereupon sentenced to prison for ten years. Their native companions rallied to their support and rose in rebellion; the next day, May 11, the soldiers mutinied at Delhi, massacred the English inhabitants of the city and besieged the garrison; in a few days the entire northwest was in full revolt. Lucknow, with its population of seven hundred thousand natives, rose against the British and besieged them in their fortifications. At Cawnpore, about forty miles to the south, a thousand British men, women, and children were cruelly massacred after they had surrendered, and by the middle of July all Oudh and the northwest seemed lost.

The rebellion crushed

Immediately after the insurrection at Meerut the governor general telegraphed to Bombay, Madras, and Ceylon for instant help. Though there were as yet no railroads in the rebellious provinces, the telegraph helped to save the empire. Aid was at once sent to Lucknow under the command of General Colin Campbell, a hero of the Napoleonic and Crimean wars, and in November he succeeded in relieving the brave garrison, which had held out for nearly six months. Many of the sepoys remained loyal, and with aid from the coast provinces city after city was wrested from the mutineers until by the end of November British India was saved, but at a frightful cost. In the punishment of the rebels the frenzied English showed themselves as cruel as the natives had been in their treatment of English prisoners.

After the suppression of the sepoy rebellion the Parliament of Great Britain revolutionized the government of India. The administration of the peninsula was finally taken entirely out

of the hands of the East India Company, which had directed it for more than two hundred and fifty years, and vested in the British sovereign, to be exercised under parliamentary control. In November, 1858, a royal proclamation[1] announced to the inhabitants of British India that all treaties made under the authority of the East India Company would be maintained, the rights of feudatory princes upheld, and religious toleration granted. The governor general of the company in India was supplanted by a viceroy, and the company's directors in London surrendered their power into the hands of the Secretary of State for India. The Mogul of Delhi, successor of the great Aurangzeb, was expelled from his capital, but when, nearly twenty years later (on January 1, 1877), Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India amid an illustrious gathering of Indian princes and British officials, the pomp and magnificence of the ancient Moguls were invoked to bind their former subjects more closely to their English conquerors. King George V, Emperor of India, now rules over about three hundred millions of Indian subjects inhabiting a domain embracing 1,773,000 square miles.

Queen Victoria assumes the East India Company's political power, 1858

Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India, 1877

Since the great mutiny the British government in India has been concerned chiefly with problems of internal reform and administration and with the defense of the frontiers, especially in the northwest. The proportion of natives to white men in the army was greatly reduced and the artillery placed almost entirely in charge of the latter. Codes of law and of criminal procedure were introduced in 1860 and 1861. The construction of railway lines was pushed forward with great rapidity for military and economic purposes, so that the vast interior might be quickly reached by troops, and an outlet opened for its crops of cotton, rice, wheat, indigo, and tobacco. Cotton mills are rising by the tombs of ancient kings, cities are increasing rapidly in population, and the foreign trade by sea has multiplied twenty-fold in the past seventy years. About eight

Progress in India since the mutiny

Railroads and newspapers

[1] For the proclamation, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 312 *sqq.*

hundred newspapers, printed in twenty-two languages, including Burmese, Sanskrit, and Persian, are published; educational institutions have been provided for nearly five million students. In short, an industrial and educational revolution is taking place in India, and the Indians are beginning to be discontented with a government in which they have little share.

The Dominion of Canada

The French in Canada obtain a liberal government by the Quebec Act, 1774

71. When the English government was established in Canada after the capture of Montreal in 1760, only about two hundred of the sixty-five thousand inhabitants were of English origin; the rest were French. Barriers of race, language, laws, and religion separated the conquerors from the conquered. For a few years the English administration, not unnaturally, was badly adapted to the needs of its new subjects, but in 1774, on the eve of the war with the American colonies, the British Parliament, in order to insure the allegiance of the Canadians, passed the famous Quebec Act, — one of the most remarkable enactments in the history of English law. In an age of intolerance it recognized the Catholic faith, allowed the clergy to collect their tithes, perpetuated the French civil law, and left French customs and traditions undisturbed.

Loyalists settle in Canada during the American Revolution

Under this act the new colony stood patriotically by England during the American Revolution, and though France was herself allied with the revolting colonies, the Canadians repulsed their advances and received fugitive loyalists in great numbers. The latter, known as the United Empire Loyalists, settled in what are now the Maritime Provinces and also in Upper Canada, — the region lying along the Great Lakes, which was to become the province of Ontario. It is estimated that by 1806 about eighty thousand loyalist immigrants had crossed the frontier from the United States, — the British government offering lands and subsidies to encourage their coming.

The influx of an English population necessitated a change in the government, which had been designed especially for

the French. Consequently, in 1791, representative government was established in Canada by a new act of Parliament. The country was divided into two provinces, — an upper one, Ontario, inhabited by the English, and a lower one, Quebec, which had long been the home of the French.

Canada divided into two provinces, Ontario and Quebec

Under this new government the English and French inhabitants once more showed their loyalty to England when the armies of the United States prepared to invade Canada during the War of 1812; for the old loyalists in Ontario still remembered with bitterness their expulsion during the American Revolution. The French Canadians likewise flocked to the support of the English cause, and the result of the conflict was merely to increase the ill will already felt for the neighboring republic, whose designs of annexation were regarded with distrust and aversion.

French Canadians loyal to Britain in the War of 1812

Amicably as the Canadians in the two provinces coöperated against the United States, they were constantly troubled by domestic dissensions. In Quebec the quarrel was between the great mass of the French citizens and a small group of English who controlled the government.[1] In Ontario, although there was no question of nationality, there was some bitterness between the newcomers in the province and the officials who were nearly all from the old loyalist stock. In 1837 this ill feeling led to a revolt which was soon put down and followed by a union of the two provinces under one government. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island there were demands for more local rights, and about the middle of the century they were granted self-government through responsible ministries.

The Canadian rebellion of 1837

This was an important step in the direction of the Canadian federation which was organized a few years later. By the British North America Act of 1867 Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were united into the Dominion of Canada, with the provision that the remaining provinces and territories

Canadian provinces federated in 1867

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 317 *sq.*

might be admitted later. This federation was given a constitution providing for a governor general representing the sovereign of England, a Senate, the members of which are appointed for life by the governor general, and a House of Commons elected by popular vote. The new plan of federation went into effect on July 1, 1867, — a day which is celebrated as the Canadian national holiday, like the Fourth of July in the United States.

New provinces admitted to the federation

Since the formation of the federation, the history of the dominion has been characterized by rapid material development and the growth of a national spirit among the Canadian people. The great western regions have been divided into territories and provinces, just as the western part of the United States has been organized into territories and then into states. In 1869 the extensive rights which the Hudson Bay Company had possessed for more than two hundred years over vast regions encircling Hudson Bay were purchased. The province of Manitoba was laid out in 1870; in 1871 British Columbia, which had been occupied after the settlement of the Oregon controversy with the United States, was admitted to the federation; Prince Edward Island followed two years later; and in 1905 the great provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan came into the union, leaving only Newfoundland outside. The tide of immigration has slowly risen, and the population, which was a little over half a million in 1820, was more than five millions at the close of the century.

Growth of national spirit in Canada

The development of Canadian industries under the encouragement of protective tariffs and government bounties is intimately connected with the growth of a feeling that Canada constitutes a nation by herself, in spite of her position as a member of the British Empire. The close trading relations which were once fostered between Canada and the United States by reciprocity treaties, guaranteeing mutual interests, were long hampered by the protective policy which the government at Washington followed after the close of the Civil

War. As a result, Canada was driven to look more and more to Great Britain as her industrial ally rather than to the neighboring republic. In the seventies Sir John MacDonald made the idea of a "national policy," or protection for Canadian interests, a current political issue, and since that time both the Conservative and Liberal parties have labored to make Canada an independent manufacturing nation. In the fostering of this "colonial nationalism," as it is aptly called, there has been found no more ardent advocate than the former premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.[1] The way in which Canada rejected the plan for trade reciprocity with the United States in 1911 shows that there is little support for anything that has the faintest resemblance to annexation to the republic.

The Australasian Colonies

British did not have to contend with many natives in Australasia

72. The Australasian colonies of Great Britain — Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and some of the minor islands — were practically unoccupied when the English colonists began to flock there in the nineteenth century. The aborigines of Australia and Tasmania were never very numerous or warlike. The English were therefore free, in these vast regions, to work out in their own way a democratic government suited to the conditions in which they found themselves. They have neither been forced into conflict with other European peoples, as in Canada, nor have they had to control alien races, as in India.

The extent and natural resources of Australasia

The continent of Australia, with the neighboring island of Tasmania, somewhat exceeds in extent the area of the United States, while New Zealand alone is somewhat larger than the island of Great Britain. Although a great part of Australia lies in the temperate zone, the northern region nearest the equator is parched in summer, and the whole central portion suffers from

[1] Extracts from one of Laurier's speeches on his attitude toward England are given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 320 *sqq*.

a scarcity of water, which makes vast areas of the interior permanently uninhabitable unless some means of irrigation on a large scale can be introduced. The eastern and southern coasts have always been the chief centers of colonization. Melbourne, in the extreme south, lies in a latitude corresponding to that of Washington, St. Louis, and San Francisco in the northern hemisphere. The country affords gold, silver, coal, tin, copper, and iron. Tasmania and New Zealand are more fortunate than Australia in the diversity of their scenery and the general fertility of their soil, while their climate is said to possess all the advantages of the mother country without her fog and smoke.

Early explorations in Australasia, — Captain Cook's voyages

The English occupation of Australasia belongs to the nineteenth century. The Portuguese, in their eager hunt for the Spice Islands, may perhaps have come upon Australia, but it long remained an unknown portion of the globe, as shown by the rude outline of *Terra Australis* (or Southern Land) which appears on the maps of the Elizabethan age. In 1642 a Dutch seaman, Tasman, discovered the island which now bears his name (originally called Van Dieman's Land). He also sighted in the same year the islands to the east, which, in spite of their almost Alpine character, were named New Zealand, after the low-lying meadows at the mouth of the Rhine. The Dutch did not, however, occupy these lands, which were later brought to the attention of the English by the famous voyages of Captain Cook. He skirted around the entire coast of New Zealand in 1769–1770, and then sailed westward to Australia, reaching land at a point which, owing to its luxuriant foliage, he called Botany Bay. He took possession of the continent in the name of the English sovereign, and it was called New South Wales, on account of its fancied resemblance to the Welsh shore line.

Founding the Australian colonies

In 1787 England began the colonization of Australia by transporting to Botany Bay a number of convicts. The bay formed an excellent harbor, and the town of Sydney, which grew up on its shores, became the chief city of New South Wales, the first of six sister states, which now form the Australian

federation. Tasmania, with the town of Hobart established in 1804, and West Australia also began as penal stations. Some settlements which had grown up around the town of Melbourne were united in 1851 to form the colony of Victoria. Shortly after, the region to the north of Sydney was organized into the colony of Queensland. South Australia, with its town of Adelaide, sprang up as an independent settlement of free men, never having had the misfortune of being used as a station for criminals. As these colonies advanced in wealth and prosperity, protest was made against the transportation of criminals, and the British government finally abandoned it. Civil government supplanted the military rule which had been exercised over the penal stations, and each colony at length secured self-government, that is, a parliament and a ministry of its own, under the general sovereignty of the British crown.

The Australian Commonwealth formed by union of six colonies

It was natural that in time the people of these colonies, speaking the same language and having the same institutions, should seek a closer union. The question of a federation was long discussed, and at last, in 1891, a general convention composed of delegates from all the states drafted a federal constitution, which was submitted to the people for their ratification. In 1900 the British Parliament passed an act constituting the Commonwealth of Australia on the basis of this draft.[1] The six states — New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and West Australia — are now formed into a union similar to that of the United States. The king is represented by a governor general; the federal parliament is composed of two houses, a Senate, consisting of six senators from each state, and a House of Representatives chosen in the same way as in the United States. This body has extensive power over commerce, railways, currency, banking, postal and telegraph service, marriage and divorce, and industrial arbitration.

The settlement of New Zealand

To the southeast of Australia, twelve hundred miles away, lie the islands of New Zealand, to which English pioneers began

[1] Extracts from the constitution are given in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 326 *sq.*

to go in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1840 the English concluded a treaty with the native Maoris, by which the latter were assigned a definite reservation of lands on condition that they would recognize Queen Victoria as their sovereign. The English settlers established the city of Auckland on North Island, and twenty-five years later New Zealand became a separate colony, with the seat of government at Wellington. Under the auspices of the New Zealand Company colonization was actively carried on, and before long the whites began to press in upon the reservations of the Maoris. This led to two revolts on the part of the natives (1860 and 1871), which were, however, speedily repressed and have not been repeated.

Social reform in New Zealand

New Zealand has recently become famous for its experiments in social reform.[1] During the last decade of the nineteenth century the workingmen became very influential, and they have been able to carry through a number of measures which they believe to be to their advantage. Special courts are established to settle disputes between employers and their workmen; a pension law helps the poor in their old age. Various measures have been adopted for discouraging the creation of large estates, which are heavily taxed, while small farms pay but little. The right to vote is enjoyed by women as well as by men.[2]

Victoria attempts to maintain standard wages for workingmen

The colony of Victoria has vied with New Zealand in respect to social reform. The government has attempted to stop "sweating" in the poorly paid industries, and public boards composed of employers and workmen have been established for the purpose of fixing the minimum wages and standards of work, so that these matters are no longer arranged by private bargaining between individuals. The system of secret voting which originated in Australia — the so-called "Australian ballot" — is one of the reforms which has already spread beyond Australasia, and is in use both in England and in the United States.

[1] For a summary of the principles of reform, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 322 *sqq*.

[2] In Australia women are also permitted to vote for members of the federal parliament and in the local elections of all the states.

Growth of the British Empire in Africa

73. The chief centers of British advance in Africa have been two,— the Cape of Good Hope at the extreme south and Egypt[1] in the north. The Cape Colony was permanently acquired, as we have seen, at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, some eight years after its actual seizure from the Dutch during the war with Napoleon. When this colony passed into the hands of the British it contained slightly over twenty-five thousand people of European descent, mainly Dutch, and it is from this original Dutch stock that the majority of the present white inhabitants are derived, although immigration from England set in after the fall of Napoleon. These Dutch settlers were a sturdy, resolute people, strongly attached to their customs, including slavery, and though of peaceable spirit, they were unwilling to submit to interference. It was just these characteristics which the new rulers overlooked. Shortly after their occupation the British reconstructed the system of local government and the courts; they insisted on the use of the English language; and finally, in 1833, they abolished slavery, setting aside a considerable sum of money as compensation to the slave owners, a great deal of which, however, was secured by shrewd financiers because it was made payable in London.

Early conflict between the British and Dutch in South Africa

Owing to these grievances, about ten thousand of the Boers[2] left the Cape during the years 1836 to 1838, and, pressing northeastward beyond the Orange River into the interior, partly inhabited by warlike savages, set up a new colony. During the succeeding years large numbers of the Boers pushed farther eastward and northward into the regions now known as Natal and the Transvaal. For a time they had their own way in these barren wildernesses.

Many thousand Boers leave Cape Colony for the interior

[1] The circumstances which led England to interfere in Egyptian affairs will be considered below, pp. 498 *sqq*.

[2] This is the Dutch word for farmer and has come to be especially applied to the Dutch population of South Africa.

The British seize Natal (1842) and the Orange River Colony (1848)

Natal, however, was on the seacoast, and the British had no desire to see a strong unfriendly state established there. Consequently they sent troops over to occupy Durban (then called Port Natal), which had formerly been the seat of some English settlers. These troops came into conflict with the Dutch there in 1842 and drove them out, — adding more bitterness to the ill will which the Boers already felt for the English. The conquerors cared little, however, for Dutch opinion, and six years later (in 1848) they seized the Orange River Colony, which the Boers had founded between the Orange and Vaal rivers.

The Transvaal Colony founded and its independence recognized by the British, 1852

Once more a great Boer migration began, this time into the region beyond the Vaal where pioneers had already broken the way. There the Transvaal Colony was founded. The British believed that the vast inland wilderness was good only for cattle raising and rude agriculture and was therefore not worth the trouble of annexation and defense. Accordingly, in 1852, by a treaty known as the Sand River Convention, they recognized the independence of the Boers in the Transvaal region, guaranteeing them the right "to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British government." This was followed, two years later, by the recognition of the freedom and independence of the Orange River Colony under the name of the Orange Free State, which preserved its liberty until the recent war, which brought it again under British sovereignty.

Independence of the Orange Free State recognized, 1854

The British annex the Transvaal Republic, 1877

In the Transvaal the Dutch lived a rude wild life, having little government and desiring little. They were constantly embroiled with the natives, and as time went on the British began to complain, as they had previously of the Orange River Colony, that their disorders constituted a standing menace to the peace of the neighboring colonies. Whether or not there was any justification for this claim, Great Britain in 1877 annexed the Transvaal Republic,[1] whose independence it had recognized twenty-five years before. The government thus imposed upon the Boers

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 328 *sqq.*

was extremely galling, and in 1880 they organized an insurrection and destroyed at Majuba Hill (1881) a small detachment of English troops.

But Gladstone grants Dutch independence again

At that time Gladstone was in office, and turning a deaf ear to the demands of the imperialists for vengeance, he determined to grant to the Dutch that independence for which they had fought. Consequently he concluded a convention with the Transvaal provisional government by which autonomy under the suzerainty of the queen of England was granted to the Boers, except that their foreign affairs were to be subject to British control. Regarding this measure not as an act of magnanimity on the part of the British government but as a concession wrung from it by force of arms, the Boers determined to secure complete independence, and succeeded in 1884 in obtaining a new convention recognizing the Transvaal as free and independent in all respects except the conclusion of treaties with foreign powers. They thus regained, for all practical purposes, the freedom which they had enjoyed before the annexation of 1877.

The discovery of gold in the Transvaal

The very next year (1885) gold was discovered in the southern part of the Transvaal, and wild lands which the negroes had despised and from which the Boers could scarcely wring a scanty living now became exceedingly valuable. Thousands of miners, prospectors, speculators, and the customary rabble of the mining camp began to flow into the Transvaal, and within a short time the population had trebled. The Boers were now outnumbered by the newcomers, the *Uitlanders*, or foreigners, as they were called. The Dutch, in order to retain their supremacy, put all sorts of obstacles in the way of the newcomers who wished to acquire citizenship and the right to vote.

It was now the turn of the Uitlanders (who were largely English) to protest.[1] They declared that their energy and enterprise had transformed a poor and sparsely settled country into

[1] For a summary of English grievances against the Boers, see *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 332.

The British in the Transvaal protest against the government as managed by the Dutch

a relatively populous and prosperous one; that they had enriched the treasury of an almost bankrupt government; and that since they also had a stake in the country, they should be allowed a voice in making the laws and in the administration of justice. They tried to effect a change in the Transvaal constitution, and, failing that, they planned in 1895 an insurrection against the Boer authorities.

The Jameson raid, 1895

The conspiracy was encouraged by Cecil Rhodes, prime minister of Cape Colony and head of the British South Africa Company. It is alleged that he was supported in this by those who were then in control of the home government. Dr. Jameson, an agent of the company who was much interested in promoting some of Rhodes's great schemes, started for the interior of the Transvaal at the head of an armed band of the company's forces with the intention of coöperating with those who were preparing for an uprising at Johannesburg. The enterprise miscarried, however, and the insurgents were captured by the Boers.

President Kruger refuses to conciliate the British

This "Jameson raid," as it is called, only served further to embitter the Boers and afforded them a pretext for collecting large military supplies in self-defense. The president of the Transvaal Republic, Paul Kruger, was firmly opposed to all compromise with the British.[1] He was practically master of the little oligarchy that controlled the republic; he persistently disregarded the petitions of the Uitlanders, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Orange Free State to the south.

The Boer War results in annexation of the two Dutch republics to the British Empire

The British now claimed that the Boers were aiming at the extinction of their dominion in South Africa; the Boers, on the other hand, asserted that the British were planning the overthrow of the two Dutch republics. Claims and counterclaims on both sides served to create a complicated situation. Negotiations failed to bring a settlement, and in October, 1899, the Transvaal Republic issued a declaration of war against England,

[1] For Kruger's appeal to the Boers to resist the British, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 333 *sq.*

following it up by an invasion of Natal and Cape Colony, in which the burghers of the Orange Free State joined. At first victorious, the Boers were finally defeated, and the two republics were annexed to the British Empire as the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal Colony.

Progress in Cape Colony

During this long struggle between Boer and Briton in the interior, the two races have prospered and lived happily side by side in Cape Colony and Natal. The boundaries of the former colony have been enlarged by many annexations until it now has an area about five times that of the state of New York. More than two thirds of the population is negro, but the European element is steadily increasing by immigration from the British Isles. Cabinet government was established in 1872, and the legislative power vested in two houses, both elected by popular vote. The principal towns are Cape Town, the capital, and Kimberley, the center of the great diamond fields, from which more than half a billion dollars' worth of diamonds have been taken.

The colony of Natal

The self-governing colony of Natal originated with the expulsion of the Boers in 1842 and the annexation of the region to Cape Colony. Some years later it was again made a separate colony, and in 1893 it was given a cabinet government of its own. Here, as at the Cape, the negro population predominates, being about five times that of the European and Asiatic residents combined.

The South African Union

Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony were consolidated into the South African Union in 1910, and are now administered under one governor general and a common parliament.

Other British possessions in Africa

In addition to these colonies Great Britain has three enormous provinces in southern Africa occupied almost entirely by negroes. North of the Cape lies the Bechuanaland protectorate, inhabited by peaceful native tribes. Beyond Bechuanaland and the Transvaal is Rhodesia, which was acquired through the British South Africa Company by two annexations in 1888 and 1898 and, with subsequent additions, brought under the protection of the British government. A railway from Cape Town

has been completed through Bulawayo and across the Victoria Falls to the northern boundary of Rhodesia. This region brings the British inland possessions to the junction of German East Africa and the Congo Free State, which now block further annexations to the northward that might otherwise have connected South Africa with the Nile valley.[1]

TABLE OF BRITISH POSSESSIONS

In Europe: The United Kingdom, Gibraltar, and Malta.

In Asia: Aden, Perim, Sokotra, Kuria Muria Islands, Bahrein Islands, British Borneo, Ceylon, Cyprus, Hongkong, India and dependencies, Labuan, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, Weihaiwei.

In Africa: Ascension Island, Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, British East Africa, Cape of Good Hope, Nyasaland Protectorate, Zanzibar, Mauritius, Natal, Orange River Colony, Rhodesia, St. Helena, Tristan da Cunha, Seychelles, Somaliland, Transvaal Colony, Swaziland, West African Colonies of Nigeria, Northern Nigeria, Southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Gambia, Sierra Leone.

In North and South America: Bermudas, Canada, Falkland Islands, British Guiana, British Honduras, Newfoundland and Labrador, the West Indies including Bahama, Barbados, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad, and Windward Islands.

In Australasia and the Pacific Islands: The Commonwealth of Australia (including New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia, and Tasmania), New Zealand, New Guinea (British), Fiji Islands, Tonga or Friendly Islands, and other minor islands in the Pacific.

Total area, 11,447,954 square miles. Population, 419,401,371.

[1] In addition to its colonies in southern and central Africa and its control in Egypt (see below, pp. 498 *sqq.*), Great Britain owns British East Africa. The special importance of British East Africa lies in the fact that it enables Great Britain to control the head waters of the Nile and affords a protection for the Sudan and Egypt to the north. British Somaliland was secured on the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb in 1884 in connection with the establishment of the English power in Egypt. Along the west coast Great Britain has five centers, Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Lagos, and Nigeria, — the beginnings of which date back to the days of Drake and Hawkins, when the British were ravaging the coast for slaves to carry to the New World.

Courtesy of E. Alexander Powell, F.R.G.S.

ZAMBESI BRIDGE ON THE CAPE-TO-CAIRO RAILWAY

REFERENCES

The Great Indian Mutiny: Extract from HUNTER, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, in BEARD, *Introduction to the English Historians*, pp. 638–644; LEE, *Source Book of English History*, pp. 562–568.

British Advance in India: WOODWARD, *The Expansion of the British Empire*, pp. 312–330; LYALL, *Rise of British Dominion in India*, pp. 210–281.

Australia and New Zealand: WOODWARD, pp. 262–274; LEE, pp. 542–550; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 530–536.

The British in South Africa: WOODWARD, pp. 280–295; LEE, pp. 569–585; HAZEN, pp. 536–545.

Canada under British Rule: WOODWARD, pp. 249–261; HAZEN, pp. 523–530.

Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth: BEARD, pp. 645–662.

CHAPTER XXI

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Reigns of Alexander I (1801–1825) and Nicholas I (1825–1855)

Relations between Russia and western Europe becoming more intimate

74. During the past century Russia has been coming into ever closer relations with western Europe. Although still a backward country in many respects, she has been busily engaged for fifty years in modernizing herself; and shortly after the opening of the twentieth century it looked as if a popular government would be established by violence. The works of some of her writers are widely read in foreign lands, especially those of Turgenief and of Leo Tolstoi. The music of Rubinstein and Tschaikovski is as highly esteemed in London or New York as in St. Petersburg or Moscow. Even in the field of science such names as that of Mendeléef, the chemist, and of Metchnikof, the biologist, are well known to their fellow-workers in Germany, France, England, and America. It becomes, therefore, a matter of vital interest to follow the changes which are turning the tide of modern civilization into eastern Europe.

Participation of Alexander I in European affairs

When, in 1815, Tsar Alexander I returned to St. Petersburg after the close of the Congress of Vienna, he could view his position and recent achievements with pride. Alexander had participated in Napoleon's overthrow, and had succeeded in uniting the rulers of western Europe in that Holy Alliance which he had so much at heart. But his chief interests lay, of course, in his own vast empire. He was the undisputed and autocratic ruler of more than half of the whole continent of Europe, not to speak of the almost interminable reaches of northern Asia which lay beneath his scepter.

Heterogeneous character of the Russian Empire

Under his dominion there were many races and peoples, differing in customs, language, and religion, — Finns, Germans, Poles, Jews, Tartars, Armenians, Georgians, and Mongols.[1] The Russians themselves, it is true, had colonized the southern plains of European Russia and had spread even into Siberia. They made up a large proportion of the population of the empire, and their language was everywhere taught in the schools and used by the officials. The people of the grand duchy of Finland, speaking Swedish and Finnish, did not like their incorporation with Russia; and the Poles, recalling the time when their kingdom far outshone the petty duchy of Moscow among the European powers, still hoped that the kingdom of Poland might form an independent nation with its own language and constitution.

In the time of Alexander I the Russians had not begun to flock to the cities, which were small and ill constructed compared with those of western Europe. The great mass of the population still lived in the country and more than half of them were serfs, as ignorant and wretched as those of France or England in the twelfth century.

Absolute powers of the Tsar

Alexander I had inherited, as "Autocrat of all the Russias," a despotic power over his subjects as absolute as that to which Louis XIV laid claim. He could make war and conclude peace at will, freely appoint or dismiss his ministers, order the arrest, imprisonment, exile, or execution of any one he chose, without consulting or giving an account to any living being. Even the Russian national Church was under his personal control. There was no thought of any responsibility to the people, and the tyranny which the Tsar's officials have been able to exercise will become apparent as we proceed.

During his early years Alexander entertained liberal ideas, but after his return from the Congress of Vienna he began to

[1] The Cossacks, or light cavalry, who constitute so conspicuous a feature of the Russian army, were originally lawless rovers on the southern and eastern frontiers, composed mainly of adventurous Russians with some admixture of other peoples. Certain districts are assigned to them by the government on the lower Don, near the Black Sea, the Urals, and elsewhere, in return for military service.

How Tsar Alexander became the enemy of revolution and of liberal ideas

dismiss his liberal advisers.[1] He became as apprehensive of revolution as his friend Metternich, and threw himself into the arms of the "Old-Russian" party, which obstinately opposed the introduction of all western ideas. The Tsar was soon denouncing liberalism as a frightful illusion which threatened the whole social order. He permitted his officials to do all they could to stamp out the ideas which he had himself formerly done so much to encourage. The censorship of the press put an end to the liberal periodicals which had sprung up, and professors in the universities were dismissed for teaching modern science. The attraction of the new ideas was, however, too strong for the Tsar to prevent some of his more enlightened subjects from following eagerly the course of the revolutionary movements in western Europe and reading the new books dealing with scientific discoveries and questions of political and social reform.

The "Decembrist" revolt of 1825

Alexander I died suddenly on December 1, 1825. The revolutionary societies seized this opportunity to organize a revolt known as the "December conspiracy." But the movement was badly organized; a few charges of grapeshot brought the insurgents to terms; and some of the leaders were hanged.

Polish rebellion, 1830–1831

Nicholas I never forgot the rebellion which inaugurated his reign, and he proved one of the most despotic of all the long list of autocratic rulers. His arbitrary measures speedily produced a revolt in Poland. The constitution which Alexander I had in his liberal days granted to the kingdom was violated. Russian troops were stationed there in great numbers, Russian officials forced their way into the government offices, and the petitions of the Polish diet were contemptuously ignored by the Tsar. Secret societies then began to promote a movement for the reëstablishment of the ancient Polish republic which Catharine II and her fellow-monarchs had destroyed. Late in 1830 an uprising occurred in Warsaw; the insurgents secured control

[1] For a contemporary account of Alexander's liberal ideas, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 338 *sqq*.

of the city, drove out the Russian officials, organized a provisional government, and appealed to the European powers for aid. Finding the Tsar inflexible in his refusal to grant them any concessions, the leaders of the insurrection proclaimed the independence of Poland, January 25, 1831.

Nicholas crushes the revolt and deprives Poland of its constitution

Europe, however, made no response to Poland's appeal for assistance. The Tsar's armies were soon able to crush the rebellion, and when Poland lay prostrate at his feet, Nicholas gave no quarter. He revoked the constitution,[1] abolished the diet, suppressed the national flag, and transferred forty-five thousand Polish families to the valley of the Don and the mountains of the Caucasus. To all intents and purposes Poland became henceforth merely a Russian province, governed, like the rest of the empire, from St. Petersburg.[2]

Nicholas I's belief that autocracy alone could save Russia

Nicholas I sincerely believed that Russia could only be saved from the "decay" of religion and government which he believed to be taking place in western Europe by maintaining autocracy, for this alone was strong enough to make head against the destructive ideas which some of his subjects in their blindness mistook for enlightenment. The Russian-Greek Church[3] and all its beliefs must be defended, and the Russian nation preserved as a separate and superior people who should maintain forever the

[1] His proclamation is printed in the *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 343 *sq.*

[2] Thirty years later, in 1863, the Poles made another desperate attempt to free themselves from the yoke of Russia, but without success. Napoleon III refused to assist them, and Bismarck did not hesitate to use his influence in the interest of the Tsar.

[3] The Russians were converted to Christianity by missionaries from Constantinople, the religious capital of the Eastern, or Greek, Church, which had gradually drifted away from the Latin, or Roman Catholic, Church in the seventh and eighth centuries. For many centuries the Russian Church remained in close relations with the patriarch of Constantinople, but after that city fell into the hands of the infidel Turks it occurred to the Russian rulers that the Tsars must be the divinely appointed successors of the Eastern emperors. Old Rome, on the Tiber, and new Rome, on the Bosporus, had both fallen on account of their sins. Russia thus became the "third Rome," and the Tsar, the head of all true Christians who accepted the only orthodox faith, that of the Greek Church. Under Peter the Great the Russian Church was brought completely under the control of the government.

noble beliefs and institutions of the past.[1] Certainly a great many of his advisers were well content with the system, and his army of officials were as loath to recommend reform as any band of corrupt politicians in the world.

Stern efforts of Nicholas to check liberalism

Accordingly, in the name of Russian nationality, the Tsar adopted strong measures to check the growth of liberalism. The officials bestirred themselves to prevent in every way the ingress into Russia of western ideas. Books on religion and science were carefully examined by the police or the clergy; foreign works containing references to politics were either confiscated or the objectionable pages were blotted out by the censors. The government officials did not hesitate freely to open private letters committed to the post, even when there was no reason to suspect their writers. It may be said that, except for a few short intervals of freedom, this whole system has been continued down to the present time.

The Freeing of the Serfs and the Growth of the Spirit of Revolution

75. In 1854 the efforts of Russia to increase her influence in Turkey led to a war with France and England. The Russians were defeated, and their strong fortress of Sebastopol, in the Crimea, captured by the allies. Nicholas I died in the midst of the reverses of the Crimean War, leaving to his son, Alexander II, the responsibility of coming to terms with the enemy, and then, if possible, strengthening Russia by reducing the flagrant political corruption and bribery which had been revealed by the war, and by improving the lot of the people at large.

Accession of Alexander II, 1855

Situation of the Russian serfs

Nearly one half of the Tsar's subjects were serfs whose bondage and wretched lives seemed to present an insurmountable barrier to general progress and prosperity. The landlord

[1] Nicholas introduced into the schools a catechism which recalls that of Napoleon I: "*Question.* What does religion teach us as to our duties to the Tsar? *Answer.* Worship, fidelity, the payment of taxes, service, love, and prayer, — the whole being comprised in the words worship and fidelity."

commonly reserved a portion of his estate for himself and turned over to his serfs barely enough to enable them to keep body and soul together. They usually spent three days in the week cultivating their lord's fields. He was their judge as well as their master and could flog them at will. The serf was viewed as scarcely more than a beast of burden.[1]

Peasant revolts

From time to time the serfs, infuriated by the hard conditions imposed upon them, revolted against their lords. During the reign of Catharine the Great a general uprising had taken place which grew to the proportions of a civil war and was only put down with terrible bloodshed and cruelty. Under Nicholas I over five hundred riots had occurred, and these seemed to increase rather than decrease, notwithstanding the vigilance of the police and the severity of the government.

Emancipation of the serfs, March, 1861

Alexander II, fearful lest the peasants should again attempt to win their liberty by force, decided that the government must undertake the difficult task of freeing forty millions of his subjects from serfdom. After much discussion he issued an emancipation proclamation, March 3, 1861,[2] on the eve of the great Civil War which was to put an end to negro slavery in the United States. In his anxiety to prevent any loss to the landowners, who constituted the ruling class in the Russian government, the Tsar did his work in a very half-hearted manner. It is true the government deprived the former lord of his right to force the peasants to work for him and pay him the old dues; he could no longer flog them or command them to marry against their will; but the peasants still remained bound to the land, for they were not permitted to leave their villages without a government pass. The landlords surrendered a portion of their estates to the peasants, but this did not become the property of individual owners, but was vested in the *village*

[1] For an account of Russian serfdom, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 345 *sqq.*

[2] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 348 *sqq.* According to the Russian calendar the date is February 19, for Russia has never followed the example of the western nations and rectified her mode of indicating dates by adopting the Gregorian calendar.

The village community, or *Mir*

community as a whole. The land assigned to each village was to be periodically redistributed among the various families of the community so that, aside from his hut and garden, no peasant could lay claim permanently to any particular plot of land as his own.[1]

The government dealt very generously with the landlords, as might have been anticipated. It not only agreed that the peasants should be required to pay for such land as their former masters turned over to them, but commonly fixed the price at an amount far greater than the real value of the land — a price which the government paid and began to collect from the serfs in installments. His new freedom seemed to the peasant little better than that enjoyed by a convict condemned to hard labor in the penitentiary. Indeed, he sometimes refused to be "freed" when he learned of the hard bargain which the government proposed to drive with him. There were hundreds of riots while the readjustments were taking place, which were sternly suppressed by the government. The peasants were compelled by force of arms to accept their "liberty" and pay the land tax which emancipation imposed upon them.

Naturally, if the people in a given community increased, the size of the individual allotments inevitably decreased and with that the chances of earning a livelihood. At present, more than fifty years after the "freeing" of the serfs, the peasant has, on the average, scarcely half as much land as that originally assigned to him. Although he lived constantly on the verge of starvation, he fell far behind in the payment of his taxes, so that in 1904 the Tsar, in a moment of forced generosity, canceled the arrears, which the peasants could, in any case, never have paid.

[1] These village communities had long existed in Russia, since the lords had usually found it convenient to have the village redistribute the land from time to time among the serfs as the number of inhabitants changed. By a new law of June 27, 1910 — the most important agrarian law since the emancipation of the serfs — provision was made for a dissolution of the village communities and private ownership of definite plots of land by the peasants.

WESTERN PORTION OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Boundary of the Russian Empire
0 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of Miles
Shetland Islands
SCOTLAND
Glasgow
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
Hull
ENGLAND
The Hague
London
Dover
Calais
BELGIUM
Brussels
HOLLAND
Amsterdam
Cologne
LUXEMBURG
Paris
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Munich
Milan
Genoa
ITALY
Rome
Naples
Adriatic Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
Christiania
Skager Rack
Cattegat
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Malmö
Hamburg
Bremen
Berlin
Leipzig
GERMANY
Dresden
Breslau
Lodz
Danzig
Baltic Sea
Thorn
Warsaw
POLAND
Lublin
Königsberg
Vilna
Grodno
Bielostok
LITHUANIA
Minsk
Volhynia
Kief
Podolia
Bessarabia
Kishenef
Odessa
Akkerman
Sebastopol
Balaklava
Crimea
Sea of Azof
Kharkof
Poltava
Ekaterinoslaf
SOUTH RUSSIA
Orel
Kaluga
Moscow
Tver
Pskof
Riga
Libau
Memel
Tilsit
PROVINCES
BALTIC
Reval
Gulf of Finland
Kronstadt
Helsingfors
Abo
Vasa
Tammerfors
Gulf of Bothnia
Tornea
Narvik
Trondhjem
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Lake Ladoga
Viborg
Schlüsselburg
St. Petersburg
Tzarskoi Selo
Novgorod
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
Trieste
Venice
Danube R.
Belgrade
SERVIA
MONTENEGRO
Cettinge
ROUMANIA
Bukharest
BULGARIA
Sofia
EASTERN RUMELIA
Philippopolis
TURKEY
Salonica
Bosporus
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
Sea of Marmora
Dardanelles
Egean Sea
GREECE
Athens
ASIA MINOR
BLACK SEA
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS
Longitude

NOTE: Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland and Caucasus are all, except Finland, integral portions of the Russian Empire; they have nevertheless been assigned a special color in the map on account of certain peculiarities in the relation of each to the Russian government. Khiva and Bokhara are Russian dependencies. In Russia all railroads are shown, but in Western Europe only the more important ones are indicated on the map.
50°
60°
70°
80°
90°
OCEAN
Kolgujef I.
Ob Bay or Gulf of Obi
Ob or Obi R.
Pechora
Archangel
Dwina R.
URAL MOUNTAINS
Tobolsk
(Sibir)
Irtysh
Tara
Tomsk
Kolyvan
Omsk
Tiumen
Vyatka
Nijni Novgorod
Kazan
Volga R.
Orenburg
Uralsk
Tambof
Saratof
Astrakhan
Mouths of the Volga
Ural
Kirghiz Steppe
Semipalatinsk
Lake Balkash
Kazalinsk
Aralsk Sea
Perovsk
Syr Daria
Aulieata
Chemkent
Andidjan
Margelan
Tashkent
Khokand
Fergnana
Samarkand
Bokhara
Amu Darya or Oxus R.
KHIVA
Khiva
TRANSCASPIAN PROVINCE
CASPIAN SEA
Krasnovodsk
Ashkabad
Merv
Khulm
Stavropol
CAUCASUS
CAUCASUS MTS.
Derbent
Tiflis
Elisabethpol
Baku
Trans Caucasia
Kars
ARARAT
Tabriz
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
BOKHARA
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
SIBERIA
CENTRAL ASIA
TURKESTAN
EMPIRE
province of the Cossacks
Greenwich

Original meaning of nihilism

Alexander II's despotic régime developed among the more cultivated classes a spirit of opposition, known as *nihilism*.[1] This was not in its origin a frantic terrorism, as commonly supposed, but an intellectual and moral revolt against tyranny in the State, bigotry in the Church, and all unreasonable traditions and unfounded prejudices. Absolute sincerity, Kropotkin assures us, was the basis of nihilism. "In the name of that sincerity the nihilist gave up, and asked others to give up, those superstitions, prejudices, habits, and customs which his own reason could not justify. He refused to bend before any authority except that of reason." In short, the nihilist would have agreed with Voltaire, Diderot, and the Encyclopædists in exalting reason as man's sole guide in this mysterious world.

Origin of terrorism

The government officials regarded the reformers with the utmost suspicion and began to arrest the more active among them. The prisons were soon crowded and hundreds were banished to Siberia. The Tsar and his police seemed to be the avowed enemies of all progress, and any one who advanced a new idea was punished as if he had committed a murder. The peaceful preparation of the people for representative government could not go on so long as the police were arresting men for forming debating clubs. It seemed to the more ardent reformers that there was no course open to them but to declare war on the government as a body of cruel, corrupt tyrants who would keep Russia in darkness forever merely in order that they might continue to fill their own pockets by grinding down the people. They argued that the wicked acts of the officials must be exposed, the government intimidated, and the eyes of the world opened to the horrors of the situation by conspicuous acts of violent retribution. So some of the reformers became *terrorists*, not because they were depraved men or loved bloodshed, but because they were convinced that there was no other

[1] The term "nihilist" was first introduced in Russia by Turgenief in his novel, *Fathers and Children*. It was applied to the chief character on account of his denial of the authority of all tradition. See *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 353.

way to save their beloved land from the fearful oppression under which it groaned.

Terrorism, 1878–1881

The government fought terrorism with terrorism. In 1879 sixteen suspected revolutionists were hanged and scores sent to the dungeons of St. Petersburg or the mines of Siberia.[1] The terrorists, on their part, retaliated by attacks on the Tsar and his government. A student tried to kill the Tsar as the head and representative of the whole tyrannical system. Attempts were made to blow up a special train on which the Tsar was traveling, and, in another effort to kill him, the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg was wrecked by a revolutionist disguised as a carpenter.

Alexander II consents to permit the representatives of the people to give their opinion on proposed laws

In short, the efforts of the Tsar's officials to check the revolutionists proved vain, and Melikoff, to whom the Tsar had given almost dictatorial powers to suppress the agitation, finally saw that the government must make some concessions in order to pacify its enemies; so he advised Alexander II to grant a species of constitution in which he should agree to convoke an assembly elected by the people, and thereafter ask its opinion and counsel before making new and important laws. The Tsar finally consented to make the experiment, but it was too late. On the afternoon that he gave his assent to the plan he was assassinated as he was driving to his palace (March, 1881).[2]

Assassination of Alexander II, 1881

Terrorism rapidly declines after the death of Alexander II

While the body of the murdered Tsar was still lying in state, the executive committee of the revolutionists issued a warning to his son and successor, Alexander III, threatening him with the evils to come if he did not yield to their demand for representative government, freedom of speech and of the press, and the right to meet together for the discussion of political questions.[3] The new Tsar was not, however, moved by the appeal, and the police redoubled their activity. The plans of Melikoff were repudiated, and the autocracy settled back into its usual

[1] For a description of the horrors of Siberian exile life, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 354 *sqq*.

[2] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 362 *sq*.

[3] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 364 *sqq*.

despotic habits. The terrorists realized that, for the time being, they had nothing to gain by further acts of violence, which would only serve to strengthen the government they were fighting. It was clear that the people at large were not yet ready for a revolution.

Belief of the reactionaries that Russia must be kept "frozen"

The reign of Alexander III (1881–1894) was a period of quiet, during which little progress seemed to be made. The people suffered the oppression of the government officials without active opposition. Their occasional protests were answered by imprisonment, flogging, or exile, for Alexander III and his intimate advisers believed quite as firmly and religiously in autocracy as Nicholas I had done. Freedom and liberalism, they agreed, could only serve to destroy a nation.

The Industrial Revolution in Russia

The industrial revolution overtakes Russia

76. It became increasingly difficult, however, to keep Russia "frozen," for during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the spread of democratic ideas had been hastened by the coming of the steam engine, the factory, and the locomotive, all of which served to unsettle the humdrum agricultural life which the great majority of the people had led for centuries. In spite of her mineral resources Russia had lagged far behind her western neighbors in the use of machinery. She had little capital and no adequate means of transportation across the vast stretches of country that separated her chief towns, and the governing classes had no taste for manufacturing enterprises.[1]

The liberation of the serfs, with all its drawbacks, favored the growth of factories, for the peasants were sometimes permitted to leave their villages for the manufacturing centers which were gradually growing up. The value of the products of the chief industries doubled between 1887 and 1897; and the number of people employed in them increased from 1,318,048

Rapid growth of Russian industries, 1887–1897

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 368 *sqq.*

to 2,098,262. If Napoleon could come once more to Moscow, he would not recognize the city which met his gaze in 1812. It has now become the center of the Russian textile industries, and the sound of a thousand looms and forges announces the creation of a new industrial world. There are in Russia to-day twenty-five cities with a population of one hundred thousand or more, and two of them, — St. Petersburg and Moscow, — have over a million each.

Railway construction in Russia

Along with this industrial development has gone the construction of great railway lines built largely by the government with money borrowed from capitalists in western Europe. Some of the railroads have been constructed chiefly for political and military purposes, but others are designed to connect the great industrial centers. Railway building was first seriously undertaken in Russia after the disasters of the Crimean War, when the soldiers suffered cruel hardships in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining supplies. By 1878 upward of eight thousand miles had been built, connecting the capital with the frontiers of European Russia. In 1885 the railway advance toward the frontiers of India[1] was begun, and within a short time Afghanistan was reached and communication opened to the borders of China. Important lines have also been built in the region between the Black Sea and the Caspian.

[1] The expansion of Russia to the southeast has been very rapid. In 1846 the southern boundary ran along the lower edge of the Aral Sea. In 1863 Russia, claiming that the Turkestan tribesmen pillaged caravans and harried her frontiers, sent forces which captured the cities of Turkestan, Chemkent, and Tashkent, and two years later organized the region into the new province of Russian Turkestan. Shortly afterward the Ameer of Bokhara declared war on the Tsar only to have the Russians occupy the ancient city of Samarkand (where Alexander the Great had halted on his eastward march) and later establish a protectorate over Bokhara which brought them to the borders of Afghanistan. In 1872 the Khan of Khiva was reduced to vassalage. During the following years (1873–1886) the regions to the south, about Merv, down to the borders of Persia and Afghanistan, were gradually annexed. In 1876 the province of Kokand on the boundary of the Chinese Empire was seized and transformed into the province of Ferghana. By securing railway concessions and making loans to the Shah, the Russians have become powerful in Persia, and thus all along their southeastern frontiers they are struggling for predominance against British influence.

The greatest of all railway undertakings was the Trans-Siberian road, which was rendered necessary for the transportation of soldiers and military supplies to the eastern boundary of the empire. Communication was established between St. Petersburg and the Pacific in 1900, and a branch line southward to Port Arthur was soon finished.[1] One can now travel in comfort, with few changes of cars, from Havre to Vladivostok, via Paris, Cologne, Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, Irkutsk on Lake Baikal, and Harbin, a distance of seventy-three hundred miles.

The Trans-Siberian railroad

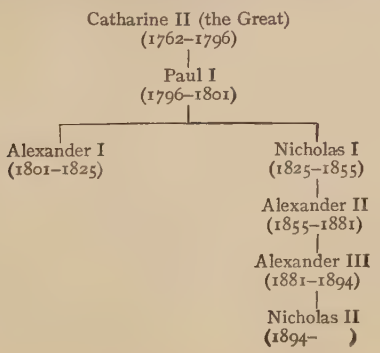
The Struggle for Liberty under Nicholas II

77. When Nicholas II succeeded his father, Alexander III, in 1894,[2] he was but twenty-six years old and there was some reason to hope that he would face the problems of this new industrial Russia in a progressive spirit. He had had an opportunity in his travels to become somewhat familiar with the enlightened governments of western Europe, and one of his first acts was to order the imprisonment of the prefect of police of St. Petersburg for annoying the correspondents of foreign

Nicholas II speedily dispels the hopes of the liberals

[1] See map below, p. 477.

[2] It may not be superfluous to bring together at this point the names of the Russian rulers in recent times, since their autocratic position has enabled them to play a far more important rôle in public affairs than western monarchs.



newspapers. Nicholas, however, quickly dispelled any illusions which his more liberal subjects entertained. "Let it be understood by all," he declared, "that I shall employ all my powers in the best interests of the people, but the principle of autocracy will be sustained by me as firmly and unswervingly as it was by my never-to-be-forgotten father."

Censorship of the press

The censorship of the press was made stricter than ever, one decree alone adding two hundred books, including the works of Herbert Spencer, to the already long list of those which the government condemned.[1] The distinguished historian, Professor Milyoukov, was dismissed from the University of Moscow on the ground of his "generally noxious tendencies," and other teachers were warned not to talk about government.[2]

Attempt to Russify Finland given up

Nowhere did the Tsar show his desire for absolute control more clearly than in his dealings with Finland. When Alexander I had annexed that country in 1809 he had permitted it to retain its own diet and pass its own laws, although it of course recognized the Tsar as its ruler under the title of Grand Duke. The Finns cherished their independence and have in recent times shown themselves one of the most progressive peoples of Europe. In 1899, however, Nicholas began a harsh and determined *Russification* of Finland. He sent heartless officials, like von Plehve, to represent him and crush out all opposition to his changes. He placed the Finnish army under the Russian minister of war, deprived the diet of the right to control the lawmaking, except in some minor and purely local matters, and undertook to substitute the Russian language so far as possible for the Finnish.

Finally, on June 17, 1904, the Russian governor of Finland was assassinated by the son of one of the senators, who then

[1] Among the books which the government prohibits in public libraries are the Russian translation of Mill's *Political Economy*, Green's *History of the English People*, Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, and Fyffe's *Modern Europe*.

[2] One may judge of the sober, high-minded scholars upon whom the Russian autocracy believes it essential to make war by reading Professor Milyoukov's *Russia and its Crisis*, which is based on a series of lectures which he delivered in the United States during the year 1903–1904.

killed himself, leaving a letter in which he explained that he had acted alone and with the simple purpose of forcing on the Tsar's attention the atrocities of his officials. The new governor permitted the newspapers to be started once more and forbade the Russian officials to interfere in the elections. A year later the Tsar, under the influence of revolution at home and disaster abroad, consented to restore to Finland all her former rights.

Harsh policy of von Plehve

We must now trace the history of the terrible struggle between the Russian people and their despotic government, which began openly in 1904. In 1902 an unpopular minister of the interior had been assassinated and the Tsar had appointed a still more unpopular man in his place, namely, von Plehve, who was notorious for his success in hunting down those who criticised the government and for the vigor with which he had carried on the Russification of Finland. He at once declared that the existing discontent was due entirely to a handful of evil-minded agitators whom the police would soon catch.

Massacres of the Jews

Von Plehve connived at the persecution of those among the Tsar's subjects who ventured to disagree with the doctrines of the Russian official Church to which every Russian was supposed to belong. The Jews suffered especially. There were massacres at Kishineff[1] and elsewhere in 1903 which horrified the western world and drove hundreds of thousands of Jews to foreign lands, especially to the United States. There is good reason to believe that von Plehve actually arranged these massacres.

The liberals, or constitutional democrats

Von Plehve was mistaken, however, in his belief that all the trouble came from a handful of deluded fanatics. Among those who detested the cruel and corrupt government which he represented were the professional men, the university professors, the enlightened merchants and manufacturers, and the public-spirited nobility. These were not at first organized into a distinct party, but in time they came to be known as the constitutional democrats. They hoped that a parliament elected by the people

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 371 *sq.*

might be established to coöperate with the Tsar and his ministers in making the laws and imposing the taxes. They demanded freedom of speech and of the press, the right to hold public meetings to discuss public questions, the abolition of the secret police system, of arbitrary imprisonment and religious persecutions, and the gradual improvement of the condition of the peasants and workingmen through the passage of wise laws.

The social democrats

In the towns a socialistic party had been growing up which advocated the theories of Karl Marx.[1] It desired, and still desires, all the reforms advocated by the constitutional democrats just described, but looks forward to the time when the workingmen will become so numerous and powerful that they can seize the government offices and assume the management of lands, mines, and industries, which shall thereafter be used for the benefit of all rather than for the small class of rich men who now own them. Unlike the reformers next to be described, they do not believe in terrorism or in murderous attacks upon unpopular government officials.

The socialist revolutionary party

The most conspicuous among the Russian agitators were those who belonged to the socialist revolutionary party, which was well organized and was responsible for the chief acts of violence during the years of the revolution. They maintained that it was right to make war upon the government which was oppressing them and extorting money from the people to fill the pockets of dishonest officeholders. Its members selected their victims from the most notoriously cruel among the officials, and after a victim had been killed they usually published a list of the offenses which cost him his life. Lists of those condemned to death were also prepared, after careful consideration, by their executive committee. They did not practice, or in any way approve of, indiscriminate assassination, as is sometimes supposed.

The more von Plehve sought to stamp out all protest against the autocracy, the more its enemies increased, and at last, in

[1] See above, pp. *277 sqq.*

1904, the open revolution may be said to have begun. On February 5 of that year a war commenced with Japan, which was due to Russia's encroachments in Korea and her evident intention of permanently depriving China of Manchuria. The liberals attributed the conflict to bad management on the part of the Tsar's officials, and declared it to be inhuman and contrary to the interests of the people. In March revolutionary manifestoes appeared, maintaining that the Japanese were quite justified in their claims and urging that no intelligent Russian should help on the war in any way, either by contributions or enlistment.

Great unpopularity of the war with Japan which began in February, 1904

Meanwhile the Japanese were pressing back the Russians, destroying their vessels, and besieging their fortress of Port Arthur, which they had cut off from any aid or supplies. The liberal-minded among the Russians regarded these disasters with a certain satisfaction. The reverses, they held, were due to the incompetence and corruption of the Tsar's officials, and served to make plain how very badly autocracy really worked in practice.

Russian reverses

Von Plehve continued, however, in spite of the rising indignation, to encourage the police to break up scientific and literary meetings, in which disapprobation of the government was pretty sure to be expressed, and to send men eminent in science and literature to prison or to Siberia, until, on July 28, 1904, a bomb was thrown under the minister's carriage by a former student in the University of Moscow and his career was brought to an abrupt close.

Assassination of von Plehve, July, 1904

Meanwhile disasters and revolt met the government on every hand. The Japanese continued to force back the Russians in Manchuria in a series of terrific conflicts south of Mukden. In one long battle on the Sha-ho River sixty thousand Russians perished. Their fleets in the East were annihilated, and on January 1, 1905, Port Arthur fell, after the most terrible siege on record. The crops failed and the starving peasants burned and sacked the houses and barns of the nobles, arguing that if

General disorder

the buildings were destroyed, the owners could not come back, and the Tsar's police could no longer make them their headquarters.

The war had produced a stagnation of commerce and industry, and strikes became common. It became known that the government officials had been stealing money that should have gone to strengthen and equip the armies; rifles had been paid for that had never been delivered, supplies bought which never reached the suffering soldiers, and — most scandalous of all — high Russian dignitaries had even misappropriated the funds of the Red Cross Society for aiding the wounded.

The Tsar promises reforms, December, 1904

On December 26, 1904, the Tsar issued an imperial *ukase* vaguely promising reforms, which he declared were under consideration and would be put into effect as soon as possible. But the proclamation failed to stop agitation.

"Red Sunday," January 22, 1905

On Sunday, January 22, a fearful event occurred. The workingmen of St. Petersburg had sent a petition to the Tsar and had informed him that on Sunday they would march to the palace humbly to pray him in person to consider their sufferings, since they had no faith in his officials or ministers. When Sunday morning came, masses of men, women, and children, wholly unarmed, attempted to approach the Winter Palace in the pathetic hope that the "Little Father," as they called the Tsar, would listen to their woes. Instead, the Cossacks tried to disperse them with their whips, and then the troops which guarded the palace shot and cut down hundreds, and wounded thousands in a conflict which continued all day.[1] "Red Sunday" was, however, only the most impressive of many similar encounters between citizens and the Tsar's police and guards.

Protest of the men of letters

The day after "Red Sunday" all the leading lawyers and men of letters in St. Petersburg joined in the following declaration: "The public should understand that the government has declared war on the entire Russian people. There is no further doubt on this point. A government which is unable to

[1] For a contemporary newspaper account, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 373 *sqq*.

hold intercourse with the people except with the assistance of sabers and rifles is self-condemned. We summon all the vital energies of Russian society to the assistance of the workingmen who began the struggle for the common cause of the whole people. Let shame overwhelm the names of those who, in these days of great and fateful struggle, oppose the people and join the ranks of their hangmen."

The Tsar promises to summon the Duma (August 19, 1905)

Finally, the Tsar so far yielded to the pressure of public opinion that on August 19 he promised to summon a *Duma*, or council, which should meet not later than January, 1906.[1] It was to represent all Russia, but to have no further power than that of giving to the still autocratic ruler advice in making the laws.

The great general strikes, October and November, 1905

This was a bitter disappointment to even the most moderate liberals. It was pointed out that both the workingmen and the professional men were excluded by the regulations from voting. A more effective measure in bringing the Tsar and his advisers to terms was a great general strike in the interest of reform which began late in October. All the railroads stopped running; in all the great towns the shops, except those that dealt in provisions, were closed; gas and electricity were no longer furnished; the law courts ceased their duties, and even the apothecaries refused to prepare prescriptions until reforms should be granted.

The Tsar promises (October 29, 1905) that no law shall go into force without the Duma's assent

The situation soon became intolerable, and on October 29 the Tsar announced that he had ordered "the government" to grant the people freedom of conscience, speech, and association, and to permit the classes which had been excluded in his first edict to vote for members of the Duma. Lastly, he agreed "to establish an immutable rule that no law can come into force without the approval of the Duma, and that it shall be possible for those whom the people elect to enjoy a real supervision over the legality of the acts of the public officials."

The elections for the Duma took place in March and April, 1906, and, in spite of the activity of the police, resulted in an

[1] For the manifesto calling the first Duma, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 375 *sqq.*

The Duma received by the Tsar, May 10, 1906

overwhelming majority for the constitutional democrats. The deputies to the Duma assembled in no humble frame of mind. They came exasperated by the disasters of the war and the humiliations of the army and fleet, for all of which they held the ministers and the bureaucracy responsible; they were resolved to demand an account of the public income and expenditures, to punish fraud, hunt down and chastise the guilty, dismiss the corrupt, and purify the whole administration. They were determined, in a word, to give Russia an enlightened, liberal, and righteous constitutional government. Like the members of the Estates General in 1789, they felt that they had the nation behind them. They listened stonily to the Tsar's remarks at the opening session, and it was clear from the first that they would not agree any better with their monarch than the French deputies had agreed with Louis XVI and his courtiers.

The Duma freely discusses the vices of the Tsar's government

The first motion made in the Duma related to the freeing of those who had sacrificed their liberty for their country. In its address to the Tsar the assembly laid stress on the necessity of universal suffrage, and the abandoning on the part of the government of all its tyrannical habits. The Tsar's ministers would not coöperate with the Duma in any important measures of reform, and on July 21 Nicholas II declared that he was "cruelly disappointed" because the deputies had not confined themselves to their proper duties and had commented upon many matters which belonged to him. He accordingly dissolved the Duma,[1] as he had a perfect right to do, fixed March 5, 1907, as the date for the meeting of a new Duma, and appointed Stolypin premier, — an office which he held until his assassination in 1911.

Atrocities and disorder continue

The revolutionists made an unsuccessful attempt in August to blow up Premier Stolypin in his country house and continued to assassinate governors and police officials. The "Black Hundreds," on the other hand, went on massacring Jews and liberals while the government established courts-martial to insure the speedy trial and immediate execution of revolutionists. In

[1] For the decree dissolving the first Duma, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 377 *sq.*

the two months, September and October, 1906, these courts summarily condemned three hundred persons to be shot or hanged. During the whole year some nine thousand persons were killed or wounded for political reasons.

Famine added to the other disasters

A terrible famine was afflicting the land at the end of the year, and it was discovered that a member of the Tsar's ministry had been stealing the money appropriated to furnish grain to the dying peasants. An observer who had traveled eight hundred miles through the famine-stricken district reported that he did not find a single village where the peasants had food enough for themselves or their cattle. In some places the peasants were reduced to eating bark and the straw used for their thatch roofs.

Dissolution of the village communities, November, 1906

In October a ukase permitted the peasants to leave their particular village community and join another, or to seek employment elsewhere. On November 25 the peasants were empowered to become owners of their allotments, and all redemption dues were remitted. This constituted the first step toward a practical abolition of the system of common ownership by village communities, which was finally achieved by a law of June 27, 1910.

Second Duma meets March 5, 1907, and is soon dissolved

In accordance with the Tsar's imperial promise the second Duma met on March 5, 1907. The government had declared ineligible a majority of the former Duma. It had excluded Milyoukov and all the other constitutional democrats that it could, and its efforts resulted in the election of a rather large conservative "right." But many socialists were returned, and the opponents of the government still had a large majority. Early in June Stolypin ordered the assembly to give up sixteen of its members to the police and expel forty others on the ground that they were implicated in a plot to overthrow the Tsar. The Duma appointed a committee to consider the merits of the case, but the police hastened to arrest the alleged leaders in the conspiracy, and the Tsar immediately dissolved the assembly for refusing to surrender its accused members upon his demand.

New election regulations

In order that the third Duma should be more docile than the first two, the Tsar and his ministers issued, contrary to his promises, a new set of regulations for the coming elections. Poland was deprived of two thirds of its representatives, while those from the cities were so greatly reduced that only St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Warsaw, Lodz, and Riga could send any deputies at all. The influence of the peasants, whom the government has found almost as radical as the workingmen of the towns, was also much diminished.

The third Duma, November 26, 1907, proves tractable

As a result of these unconstitutional measures the third Duma, which met on November 26, 1907, contained a much larger number of large landowners, retired government officials, priests, and other conservative members than the former assemblies. Indeed, it has been found so tractable by the Tsar that no new election has been held up to the present time (1912). It proposes no radical reforms, and the spirit of revolution has almost died out among the people. Parliamentary government is apparently as far from establishment as ever. The Tsar still retains the title of Autocrat, and his officials continue to violate all the principles of civil and political liberty and even the Tsar's own manifestoes, by abusing and oppressing the people and preventing them from discussing public questions.

REFERENCES

Russia in 1815: SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 578–581; SKRINE, *Expansion of Russia*, pp. 8–13; *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. X, chap. xiii, pp. 413–439; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 645–648.

Alexander I and Domestic Reforms: SKRINE, pp. 15–85; RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, Vol. II, pp. 383–399; HAZEN, pp. 648–650.

Despotism under Nicholas I: SKRINE, pp. 86–164; SEIGNOBOS, pp. 585–590; HAZEN, pp. 650–655.

The Emancipation of the Serfs: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 591–596; RAMBAUD, Vol. III, pp. 212–228; SKRINE, pp. 178–191; HAZEN, pp. 655–660.

Growth of Opposition to Absolutism: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 603–608; RAMBAUD, Vol. III, pp. 382–388; SKRINE, pp. 214–222, 265–270; ROSE, *The Development of European Nations*, Vol. I, pp. 344–376; HAZEN, pp. 666–670.

The Industrial Revolution in Russia: SKRINE, pp. 313–321; HAZEN, 673–676.

Russia under Nicholas II: SKRINE, pp. 321–348; HAZEN, pp. 676–680, 706–718.

CHAPTER XXII

TURKEY AND THE EASTERN QUESTION

The Greek War of Independence

European Turkey the source of many dissensions among the powers

78. It has been necessary in our narrative to refer now and again to the Sultan of Turkey, and especially to his troubles with his neighbors, Russia and Austria. In order to understand this "Eastern question," — which has involved the gradual expulsion of the Turks from Europe, the interminable quarrel over the Sultan's government and finances, and the formation of the new states of Servia, Roumania, Greece, and Bulgaria, — it is necessary to turn back, for the moment, to the origin of the Turkish Empire in Europe.

The advance and decline of Turkish power in Europe

Although there had been an almost steady conflict between the Cross and the Crescent ever since the days of Mohammed, it was not until the fourteenth century that southeastern Europe was threatened by a Mohammedan invasion. Under Othman (died 1326) a Turkish tribe from western Asia established itself in Asia Minor, across the Bosporus from Constantinople. From their leader they derived the name of Ottoman Turks, to distinguish them from the Seljuk Turks with whom the Crusaders had in earlier centuries come in contact. Under successive sultans the Ottoman Turks extended their dominion into Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, while to the west they conquered the Balkan regions and Greece. In 1453 the capital of the Eastern Empire, Constantinople, fell into their hands, and for a hundred and fifty years thereafter they were a source of serious apprehension to the states of western Europe.

The Turks pushed up the valley of the Danube almost to the borders of the German Empire, and for nearly two centuries the

republic of Venice and the House of Hapsburg were engaged in an almost continuous war with them. In 1683 they laid siege to Vienna, but were defeated by the Polish king, John Sobieski, who came to the relief of the Austrians. The following year, the Emperor, Poland, and Venice formed a Holy League, which for fifteen years waged an intermittent war against the infidels (in which Peter the Great joined) and which, by 1699, succeeded in forcing the Turks out of Hungary.

Catharine the Great wins territory on the Black Sea

While Turkey ceased, thereafter, to be dangerously aggressive, she was able for several decades to resist the efforts of Russia and Austria to deprive her of further territory. In 1774 Catharine the Great managed to secure the Crimea and the region about the Sea of Azof, thus giving Russia a permanent foothold on the Black Sea. Moreover the Porte, as the Turkish government is commonly called, conceded to Russia the right to protect the Sultan's Christian subjects, most of whom were adherents of the Orthodox Greek Church, the State Church of Russia.[1]

Russian influence in Turkey

These and other provisions seemed to give the Russians an excuse for intervening in Turkish affairs, and offered an opportunity for fomenting discontent among the Sultan's Christian subjects. In 1812, just before Napoleon's march on Moscow, Alexander I forced Turkey to cede to him Bessarabia on the Black Sea, which still remains the last of Russia's conquests toward the southwest.

Servia becomes a tributary principality in 1817

Shortly after the Congress of Vienna, the Servians, who had for a number of years been in revolt against the Turks, were able to establish their practical independence (1817), and Servia, with Belgrade as its capital, became a principality tributary to Turkey. This was the first of a series of states which have reëmerged, during the nineteenth century, from beneath the Mohammedan inundation.

The national spirit is awakened in Greece

The next state to gain its independence was Greece, whose long conflict against Turkish despotism aroused throughout Europe the sympathy of all who appreciated the glories of

[1] See above, p. 435, note.

ancient Greece. The inhabitants of the land of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes were, it is true, scarcely to be regarded as descendants of the Greeks, and the language they spoke bore little resemblance to the ancient tongue. At the opening of the nineteenth century, however, the national spirit once more awoke in Greece, and able writers made modern Greek a literary language and employed it in stirring appeals to the patriotism of their fellow-countrymen.

The independence of Greece declared January, 1822

In 1821 an insurrection broke out in Morea, as the ancient Peloponnesus is now called. The revolutionists were supported by the clergy of the Greek Church, who proclaimed a savage war of extermination against the infidel. The movement spread through the peninsula; the atrocities of the Turk were rivaled by those of the Greeks, and thousands of Mohammedans — men, women, and children — were slaughtered. On January 27, 1822, the Greek National Assembly issued a proclamation of independence.[1]

Sympathy of western Europe for the cause of Greek independence

To Metternich this revolt seemed only another illustration of the dangers of revolution, but the liberals throughout Europe enthusiastically sympathized with the Greek uprising, since it was carried on in the name of national liberty. Intellectual men in England, France, Germany, and the United States held meetings to express sympathy for the cause, while to the ardent Christian it seemed a righteous war against infidels and persecutors. Soldiers and supplies poured into Greece. Indeed, the Greeks could scarcely have freed themselves had the European powers refused to intervene.

The powers intervene in the war for Grecian independence

It is needless to follow the long negotiations between the various European courts in connection with Greek affairs. In 1827 England, France, and Russia signed a treaty at London providing for a joint adjustment of the difficulty, on the ground that it was necessary to put an end to the sanguinary struggle which left Greece and the adjacent islands a prey "to all the disasters of anarchy, and daily causes fresh impediments to the

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 384 *sqq.*

commerce of Europe." The Porte having refused to accept the mediation of the allies, their combined fleets destroyed that of the Sultan at Navarino in October, 1827. Thereupon the Porte declared a "holy war" on the unbelievers, especially the Russians. But the latter were prepared to push the war with vigor, and they not only actively promoted the freedom of Greece, but forced the Sultan to grant practical independence to the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which came thereby under Russian influence. Turkey was no longer able to oppose the wishes of the allies, and in 1832 Greece became an independent state, choosing for its king Prince Otto of Bavaria.

The Turks defeated at Navarino in 1827

Wallachia and Moldavia (Roumania)

Establishment of the kingdom of Greece, 1832

The Crimean War (1854–1856)

79. A fresh excuse for interfering in Turkish affairs was afforded the Tsar in 1853. Complaints reached him that Christian pilgrims were not permitted by the Turks (who had long been in possession of the Holy Land and Jerusalem) freely to visit the places made sacred by their associations with the life of Jesus. Russia seemed the natural protector of those, at least, who adhered to her own form of Christianity, and the Russian ambassador rudely demanded that the Porte should grant the Tsar a protectorate over all the Christians in Turkey.

The international controversy over the protection of Christians in Turkey

When news of this situation reached Paris Napoleon III, who had recently become emperor and was anxious to take a hand in European affairs, declared that France, in virtue of earlier treaties with the Porte, enjoyed the right to protect Catholic Christians. He found an ally in England, whose ambassador accordingly advised the Sultan not to accede to Russia's demands. When the Tsar's troops marched into the Turkish dominions France and England came to the Sultan's assistance and declared war upon Russia in 1854.

France and England declare war on Russia

The Crimean War which followed owes its name to the fact that the operations of the allies against Russia culminated in the long and bloody siege of Sebastopol, in the southern part of the

The Crimean War, 1854

Crimean peninsula. Every victory won by the allies was dearly bought. The English soldiers suffered at first in consequence of the inefficiency of the home government in sending them the necessary supplies. The charge of the light brigade at Balaklava, which has been made famous by Tennyson's poem, and the engagement at Inkerman were small compensation for the immense losses and hardships endured by both the French and the English. Russia was, however, disheartened by the sufferings of her own soldiers, the inefficiency and corruption of her officials, and the final loss of the mighty fortress of Sebastopol.[1] She saw, moreover, that her near neighbor, Austria, was about to join her enemies. The new Tsar, Alexander II, therefore, consented in 1856 to the terms of a treaty drawn up at Paris.[2]

Terms of the Treaty of Paris, 1856

This treaty recognized the independence of the Ottoman Empire and guaranteed its territorial integrity. The "Sublime Porte" was also included within the scope of the international law of Europe, from which it had hitherto been excluded as a barbarous government, and the other powers agreed not to interfere further with the domestic affairs of Turkey. The Sultan drew up a special decree in which he referred to "his generous intentions toward his Christian subjects" and promised religious liberty as well as reforms in the government. The Black Sea was declared neutral territory and its waters were thrown open to merchant ships of all nations, but no war ships were to pass through the Bosporus or Dardanelles. In short, Turkey was preserved and strengthened by the intervention of the powers as a bulwark against Russian encroachment into the Balkan peninsula, but nothing was really done to reform the Turkish administration or to make the lot of the Christian subjects more secure.

The Black Sea declared neutral

[1] For a description of scenes in the storming of Sebastopol, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 391 *sqq*.

[2] It will be remembered that Sardinia had joined the allies against Russia, and in this way forced the powers to admit it to the deliberations at Paris, where Cavour seized the opportunity to plead the cause of Italy. See above, p. 313.

L.L.POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

Revolts in the Balkan Peninsula

80. Some idea of the situation of the people under the Sultan's rule may be derived from the report of an English traveler (Mr. Arthur Evans) in 1875. In the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina he found that outside the large towns, where European consuls were present, neither the honor, property, nor lives of the Christians were safe, because the authorities were blind to any outrage committed by a Mohammedan. The Sultan's taxes fell principally on the peasants, in the form of a tenth of their produce. It was a common custom for the collectors (who were often not Mohammedans but brutal Christians) to require the peasant to pay the tax in cash before the harvesting of the ripe crop, and if he could not meet the charges, the taxgatherer simply said, "Then your harvest shall rot on the ground till you pay it." When this oppression was resisted the most cruel punishments were meted out to the offenders.

Terrible conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Turkish rule

In 1874 a failure of crops aggravated the intolerable conditions and an insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina which set the whole Balkan peninsula aflame. The Bulgarians around Philippopolis, incited to hopes of independence by the events in the states to the west, assassinated some of the Turkish officials and gave the Ottoman government a pretext for the most terrible atrocities in the history of Turkish rule in Europe.

The Bulgarian atrocities (1876)

While the European powers, in their usual fashion, were exchanging futile diplomatic notes on the situation, Servia and Montenegro declared war on the Sultan, and the Christians in the Balkan region made a frantic appeal to the West for immediate help. A good deal naturally depended on the position taken by England,— the stanch defender of Turkey. Gladstone, then leader of the Liberals, urged his countrymen to break the unholy alliance between England and "the unspeakable Turk." But Gladstone's party was not in power, and Lord Beaconsfield was fearful that English encouragement to the Slavic rebels

Gladstone pleads with his countrymen to aid the Balkan Christians

in the Sultan's dominions would only result in their becoming independent and allying themselves with England's enemy, Russia. The English believed that in the interest of their trade they must continue to resist any movement which might destroy the power of the Sultan, who was not likely to hamper their eastern commerce.

Russia overwhelms the Sultan in a short war, 1877–1878

The negotiations of the powers having come to nothing, Russia determined, in 1877, to act alone. Her declaration of war was shortly followed by Russian victories, and in 1878 a Russian army entered Adrianople, — which was equivalent to an announcement to the world that Ottoman dominion in Europe had come to an end. England protested, but the Sultan was forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano with the Tsar and to recognize the complete independence of Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania,[1] while Bulgaria was made independent except for the payment of tribute to the Sultan.

England forces a settlement of Turkish affairs in the Berlin Conference in 1878

England expressed serious objections to this treaty and forced Tsar Alexander II to submit the whole matter to the consideration of a general European Congress at Berlin, where, after prolonged and stormy sessions, the powers agreed to many of the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano.[2] The Tsar was permitted to annex a district to the east of the Black Sea, including the towns of Batum and Kars. The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary.[3]

The Bulgarians discontented with the Berlin Treaty

The territorial settlement at Berlin, like that at Vienna half a century before, disregarded many national aspirations. The Bulgarians were especially disappointed with the arrangement, for, instead of being all united in one state, as they had hoped,

[1] In 1862 the so-called "Danubian Provinces" of Moldavia and Wallachia had formed a voluntary union under the name "Roumania." In 1866 the Roumanians chose for their ruler a German prince, Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who in 1881 was proclaimed King of Roumania as Carol I.

[2] For extracts from the Treaty of Berlin, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 397 *sq.*

[3] They were finally annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908. See below, pp. 516 *sqq.*, 530, and *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 401.

they were separated into three distinct divisions. The region between the Danube and the Balkans, with some slight additions, became the principality of Bulgaria, tributary to the Sultan. The region to the south was made a Turkish province, Eastern Roumelia, under a Christian governor general. The third division, comprising a large portion of Macedonia and the region about Adrianople, was left under the direct administration of Turkish officials.

Union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, 1885

Under the terms of the treaty the inhabitants of the Bulgarian principality proceeded to frame a constitution and chose as their prince, Alexander of Battenberg (succeeded by Ferdinand of Coburg in 1886). They adopted as their watchword, "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians," and took the first step toward the reunion of their race by a bloodless revolution in 1885 which joined Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria.[1] At length, in 1908, they threw off the Sultan's rule and took their place among the independent nations of the world.

Turkish dominion in Europe now restricted to the Macedonian region inhabited by Greeks, Bulgarians, Servians, Roumanians, and Albanians

Thus the Turkish Empire in Europe has shrunk to a narrow strip of territory, — less in extent than the state of Missouri, — extending from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, to which the name Macedonia is generally applied. This area is broken everywhere by mountain ranges and is inhabited by such a complicated mixture of races that it has been aptly called "a perfect ethnographic museum." Along the coast line of the Ægean Sea and the borders of Greece the Greeks, numbering roughly three hundred thousand, predominate. To the north and east, over against Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, dwell Bulgarians who have not yet been incorporated into the kingdom of Bulgaria. In the north-central regions are the Serbs, who are not sharply marked off from the Bulgarians because the languages of the two peoples, though differing in Servia and Bulgaria, are somewhat blended in the Macedonian regions. Scattered through the central districts are the Macedonian

[1] This clear violation of the Treaty of Berlin was sanctioned in 1886, when the powers recognized the Bulgarian prince as governor general of Eastern Roumelia.

"Rumans," of old Thracian stock, but roughly latinized in language and civilization by the Roman colonists who settled in this country after the Roman conquest of Greece. In the west, bordering on the Adriatic, are the Albanians, a wild people, primitive in their civilization and lawless in their habits. Almost two thirds of them have accepted Mohammedanism, and they are often used by the Sultan to overawe their Christian neighbors in the rest of Macedonia.

Disorders in Macedonia

Clearly a population representing so many races, and varying in stages of culture from wild mountain outlaws to orderly industrial communities, would present grave problems even to a government which was entirely honest and efficient. As it is, Christian bandits carry off other Christians into the mountains and hold them for ransom; isolated uprisings often result in the assassination of the Mohammedan officials in the district; and constant friction between the two faiths makes orderly government impossible. The Turkish administration in Macedonia is bound to excite opposition and disorder, in which it cannot be denied that many of the Christians delight to share. Lingering only by the sufferance of the powers, it seems inevitably doomed to extinction. Even the overthrow of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II in 1909 and the establishment of constitutional government in Turkey do not seem to have improved the condition of affairs in the European dominions.[1]

The Independent Balkan States

Development of Greece since independence

81. Unhappy as are the Macedonian peoples still under direct rule of the Turks, it can scarcely be said that the success of the independent states — Greece, Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro — is such as to encourage greatly those who advocate self-government for the minor nations in the Balkan regions. Shortly after winning their independence the Greeks revolted against their newly chosen sovereign because he

[1] For recent revolutionary events in Turkey, see below, pp. 516 *sqq.*

attempted to rule arbitrarily, and in 1862 they expelled him from his kingdom and chose in his stead the present ruler, George I, son of the former king of Denmark.[1] In the mountain regions bands of brigands were long so powerful as to defy the police and make traveling dangerous. The fertile soil of the valleys is badly tilled by an ignorant peasantry overburdened with taxes, and the persistent efforts of the government to educate the people still leaves about one third of the population illiterate.

Efforts to bring all Greeks within the kingdom have so far failed

Notwithstanding adverse circumstances, the Greeks are ambitious to become a great and enlightened nation, and they have driven themselves almost into bankruptcy in the construction of canals, railways, and roads, and in the maintenance of a large army. They regard themselves as morally bound to free, as soon as possible, their fellow Greeks still under Ottoman rule in Macedonia, Asia Minor, Crete, and the other islands in the eastern Mediterranean, and in 1897 they declared war on Turkey in the hope of accomplishing their long-cherished designs. Though sadly worsted in this war, they have not ceased to encourage agitation in Crete, but Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy guard it in the name of the Sultan.[2]

Revolutions in Servia

Nowhere in the Balkan regions has the experiment of self-government been less successful than in the kingdom of Servia, which was declared independent in 1878 after about sixty years of practical exemption from Turkish authority. Its ruler, who, in 1882, assumed the title of King Milan I, proved to be both despotic and immoral, and the radicals among his subjects forced him to call a national assembly, which drew up a new constitution in 1889. Angered at this interference, Milan abdicated, declaring that he would not be a puppet king. His son,

[1] After the expulsion of Otto the Greeks drew up a constitution (1864) which provided for a parliament of one chamber elected by popular vote. In 1911 it was modified and a sort of a second chamber established.

[2] After two years of civil war in Crete the powers gave the king of Greece the right to nominate the Cretan governor, or high commissioner as he is called, and in February, 1907, a new constitution was drawn up for Crete.

Alexander, proved even less acceptable to the nation, for he suspended the new constitution and recalled his father from exile. In 1903 King Alexander was assassinated by some discontented army officers, and the Servians then chose for their ruler Peter Karageorgevitch, the grandson of Kara George, or "Black George," who in the early part of the nineteenth century had led the struggle for independence and become a national hero.

Roumania troubled with agrarian disorders

Although the Roumanian kingdom has undergone no palace revolutions like the neighboring Servia, it has suffered from political agitations and agrarian disorders. The constitution is so arranged as to vest nearly all political power in the hands of those possessing considerable property; and this state of affairs rouses the constant protests of a rapidly growing radical party. Even more serious, however, than the political agitation is the unrest among the peasants who compose the vast majority of the nation. They claim that ever since the emancipation of the serfs, in 1864, they have been the victims of grasping money lenders and tyrannical landlords.

Bulgaria gaining in prosperity

The new state, Bulgaria, which secured its independence in 1908, is in many respects the most promising of all. It has a population of over four millions, and good order is being maintained there under a democratic constitution. Through the growing trade at the ports on the Black Sea the wealth of the kingdom is increasing rapidly.

Montenegro secures constitutional government in 1905

The petty kingdom of Montenegro, smaller in area than the state of Connecticut and with a population of about two hundred and thirty thousand, has caused Europe more trouble than its size warrants, but since it became independent in 1878 it has ceased to be of any particular interest. Until 1905 it was governed by an absolute prince, but he was at last forced to adopt the fashion of western Europe and establish constitutional government with a parliament elected by popular vote. In 1910 the prince assumed the title of king.

REFERENCES

The Turkish Empire in 1814: SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814*, pp. 616–619; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 601–604.

The Establishment of Grecian Independence: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 619–621, 648–652; PHILLIPS, *Modern History, 1815–1899*, pp. 145–167; HAZEN, pp. 604–611.

The Crimean War: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 789–793; SKRINE, *Expansion of Russia*, pp. 154–178; FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 824–865; RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, Vol. III, pp. 85–206; KENDALL, *Source Book of English History*, pp. 427–434; HAZEN, pp. 611–617.

The Eastern Question: ROSE, *Development of European Nations*, Vol. I, pp. 184–224.

The Russo-Turkish War and the Settlement of 1878: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 823–827; SKRINE, pp. 245–264; FYFFE, pp. 1020–1052; PHILLIPS, pp. 486–523; RAMBAUD, Vol. III, pp. 325–381; ROSE, Vol. I, pp. 225–298; HAZEN, pp. 620–627.

Roumania: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 640–648.

Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria: SEIGNOBOS, pp. 657–669; ROSE, Vol. I, pp. 299–343; HAZEN, pp. 627–633.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Growth of International Trade and Competition: Imperialism

England the leading industrial nation of the world in 1815

82. During the first half of the nineteenth century, England stood easily at the head of all the nations of the world in the output of her mines and factories and the vast extent of her commerce. Napoleon's efforts to render the Continent independent of England and her colonies had failed; there was not a single steam engine in France in 1812, and it was not until after Napoleon's fall that France set herself seriously to compete with England by the introduction of machinery. Germany was less favorably situated than France, since it had for years been the main theater of long and devastating wars. It was not a united nation, but a collection of practically independent states which were divided, previous to the development of the *Zollverein*, by high tariff duties, and embarrassed by a great variety of coinage. Italy and Austria suffered from similar disadvantages.

The United States an agricultural country in 1815

The United States of America, now so formidable in every market of the world, had in 1815 a small and scattered population. Its interests were almost exclusively agricultural, and although its ships enjoyed a considerable carrying trade on the high seas, its people lacked the capital necessary to develop the immense natural resources of the country and thereby become a serious menace to the manufacturers of the Old World.

In considering the development of commerce and industry since 1815 it is necessary to distinguish between the manufacturing which is carried on within a country to meet its own

demands, and the production of commodities destined to be sold at a profit to other countries. During the Middle Ages, although there was some commerce, production was carried on principally for domestic consumption. Gradually, however, international trade has taken on larger and larger proportions and has now become one of the most striking characteristics of our present civilization. The introduction of machinery in England naturally led her manufacturers to lay more and more stress upon foreign trade, since they could readily produce a great deal more than they could sell at home. The progress of industry on the Continent and in the United States has produced exactly the same result, and the nations of the earth have now become rivals in their eagerness to secure as large a share of the world's markets as possible.

All of the great nations now rivals for foreign trade

Closely connected with this prodigious expansion of commerce has been the development of the means of transportation and communication. The discovery that steam could be used to carry goods cheaply and speedily to all parts of the world has made it possible for the manufacturer to widen his market indefinitely, and has, in fact, made the world one great market place.

Beginnings of steam navigation

The problem of applying steam to navigation had long occupied inventors, but the honor of making the steamship a success commercially belongs to Robert Fulton. In the spring of 1807 he launched his *Clermont* at New York, and in the autumn of that year the "new water monster" made its famous trip to Albany.[1] Transoceanic navigation began in 1819 with the voyage of the steamer *Savannah* from Savannah to St. Petersburg via Great Britain. The trip to Liverpool was made in twenty-five days, sails being used to help the engine.

Within a quarter of a century steamships began to replace the old and uncertain sailing vessels, and to-day they compose two thirds of the net tonnage of the world's merchant marine.[2]

1 For Fulton's account of the trip, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 406 *sq.*

2 Yet, contrary to common opinion, there is a steady increase in the number of sailing vessels used. They are easily manned, require no coal, and, where speed is not important, promise to hold their own on the high seas for many generations.

Steady increase in the size and speed of ocean vessels

In 1840 the great Cunard Steamship Company inaugurated its transatlantic service, and since that time there has been a steady development in the number of navigation companies, as well as in the number of steam vessels and in their capacity for speed and freight. The *Great Western*, which startled the world in 1838 by steaming from Bristol to New York in fifteen days and ten hours, was a ship of 1378 tons, 212 feet long, and had an indicated horse power of 1260, with a daily consumption of 36 tons of coal. The *Lusitania*, launched in 1907, has a gross tonnage of 32,500 tons, engines of 68,000 horse power, is 785 feet long, and carries a supply of over 5000 tons of coal for its journey across the Atlantic, which lasts less than five days. A new German vessel, the *Imperator*, launched in 1912, has a tonnage of over 50,000 tons.

The oceans now marked with commercial routes

It is now possible to make the journey from Southampton to New York, three thousand miles, in five days or less, with almost the regularity of an express train. A commercial map of the world shows that the globe is now crossed in every direction by definite routes which are followed by innumerable freight and passenger steamers passing regularly from one port to another.

The Suez Canal completed in 1869

The East and the West have been brought much nearer together by the piercing of the Isthmus of Suez, which formerly barred the way from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean. This enterprise was carried out under the direction of the great French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps. After ten years of work the canal was opened to traffic in November, 1869. In 1905 over five thousand vessels took advantage of it, thus avoiding the detour of thousands of miles involved in rounding the Cape of Good Hope. An agreement among all the leading European powers provides that the canal shall be open at all times for war ships as well as merchantmen, but no act of war shall be permitted in its neighborhood.

Proposed Panama Canal

The Isthmus of Panama offers an obstacle to trade which has for years been the object of discussion and negotiations. In 1872 President Grant appointed a commission to consider

the construction of a canal, but nothing was done until 1881, when de Lesseps, encouraged by the flattering success of his first venture, succeeded in organizing the Panama Canal Company in France and work was actually begun. But the efforts to obtain the necessary funds for completing the costly enterprise led to widespread bribery of members of the French Parliament, which was disclosed in 1892. This scandal was followed by the dissolution of the French company. In 1902 the Congress of the United States authorized the President to purchase for forty million dollars the property in which the French investors had sunk so much money. Arrangements with the republic of Colombia for the construction of the canal by the United States having come to naught, the state of Panama, through which the line of the proposed canal passes, seceded from Colombia in 1903, and its independence was immediately recognized by President Roosevelt. A treaty in regard to the canal zone was then duly concluded with the new republic, and after some delays the work of the French company was resumed by the United States and is now progressing rapidly.

The beginnings of steam locomotion on land

Just as the gigantic modern steamship has taken the place of the schooner and clipper for the rapid trade of the world, so, on land, the merchandise which used to be dragged by means of horses and oxen or carried in slow canal boats is being transported in long trains of capacious cars, each of which holds as much as fifteen or twenty large wagons. The story of the locomotive, like that of the spinning machine or steam engine, is the history of many experiments and their final combination by a successful inventor. Scores of inventors were at work on the problem and thus smoothed the way for the triumph of George Stephenson.

This distinguished inventor, in 1814, built a small locomotive, known as "Puffing Billy," which was used at the mines, and in 1825, with the authorization of Parliament, he opened between Stockton and Darlington, in the northern part of England, a line

George Stephenson (1781–1848) and the development of railways in England

for the conveyance of passengers and freight. About this time a road was being projected between Liverpool and Manchester, and in an open competition, in which five locomotives were entered, Stephenson's "Rocket" was chosen for the new railroad, which was formally opened in 1830.[1] This famous engine weighed about seven tons and ran at an average speed of thirteen miles an hour, — a small affair when compared with the giant locomotive of our day, weighing a hundred tons and running fifty miles an hour.[2] Within fifteen years trains were running regularly between Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and London, and at the close of the century Great Britain had twenty-two thousand miles of railway carrying over a billion passengers annually.

Many German railways owned by the government

The first railway was opened in Germany in 1835, but the development of the system was greatly hindered by the territorial divisions which then existed. It was in the great state of Prussia that construction went on with the most rapidity, largely under government ownership and control. Some of the lines were built directly by the government, and others were later purchased by it. This policy has been continued, and at present by far the greater part of the German railways are owned by the imperial or by state governments. In Austria-Hungary, also, the majority of the lines are owned or operated by the goverment.

The French government aids in the construction of railways

The first railway in France was built in 1828, but owing to the timidity of investors the development was slow. Five years later the government took up the project of connecting Paris and the principal cities by railway lines, and it guaranteed in 1840 the interest on the investment required for the construction of a line from the capital to Orleans. Two years later the government agreed to furnish about one half of the money necessary to build a vast railway system throughout France, leaving the work of construction and operation largely in the hands of private

[1] For an account of the opening, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 409 *sqq*.

[2] It will be noted that this is the "average" speed on regular runs. For short distances the "Rocket" made thirty-five miles an hour, while the modern locomotive, as is well known, sometimes runs over a hundred miles an hour.

companies. As a result of this intervention on the part of the State, there are three types of railways in France: those which have been largely financed by the government but are operated by private companies; those which are entirely private; and those owned and operated by the State. According to the terms of the franchises, however, all the French railways will eventually revert to the State.

Railway construction in Africa and Asia

Not only is Europe bound together by a network of nearly two hundred thousand miles of railway, but railway construction is rapidly advancing in Africa and Asia, preparing cheap outlets for the products of western mills and mines. As we have seen, the Trans-Siberian road has connected Europe overland with the Pacific,[1] and Russia has also pushed lines southward toward Persia and Afghanistan; British India has over thirty thousand miles, and China about six thousand miles, of railways. Even Africa has over twenty thousand miles, most of which is in Egypt, Algeria, Tunis, and the British possessions. Before long, trains from Cairo to the Cape will rush through the jungle lands which were first penetrated by the white man in Queen Victoria's reign.

Development of rapid means of communication, — the penny post

Quite as essential to the world market as railway and steamship lines are the easy and inexpensive means of communication afforded by the post, telephone, telegraph, and cable. The English "penny post" is now so commonplace as no longer to excite wonder, but to men of Frederick the Great's time it would have seemed impossible. Until 1839 in England the postage on an ordinary letter was a shilling for a short distance. In that year a reform measure long advocated by Rowland Hill was carried, establishing a uniform penny post throughout Great Britain. The result of reducing the rate of postage for letters to this nominal sum exceeded all expectations in vastly increasing the frequency with which people wrote to one another. Other European countries have followed the example of Great Britain in reducing postage, and now the world is moving rapidly in

[1] See above, p. 443.

the direction of a universal two-cent rate. Already a letter can be carried from Basutoland in South Africa to Montreal, Canada, for two cents in less time than it took news to cross the Atlantic when Queen Victoria came to the throne.

Telegraphs and cables

No less wonderful is the development of the telegraph system. In 1911 the British post office operated over 1,230,000 miles of telegraph and telephone wire and transmitted nearly 90,000,000 messages. Moreover distant and obscure places in Africa and Asia are being brought into close touch with one another and with Europe. China now has lines connecting all the important cities of the republic and affording direct overland communication between Peking and Paris. The wonderful network is spreading into Africa, — the French, German, and British possessions being already well equipped. In October, 1907, Marconi established regular communication across the Atlantic by means of the wireless system of telegraphy discovered some years before; and ocean steamships are now equipped with wireless instruments which enable them to communicate with the land and other vessels at all times. It was this marvelous equipment which brought assistance to the survivors of the Titanic after its wreck in 1912.

Wireless telegraphy

The Industrial Revolution favors growth of foreign trade

The Industrial Revolution which enables Europe to produce far more goods than it can sell in its own markets, and the rapid transportation which permits producers to distribute their commodities over the whole surface of the globe, have combined to produce the modern competition for foreign markets. The European nations have secured the control of practically all the territory occupied by defenseless peoples in Africa and Asia, and have introduced western ideas of business into China and Japan, where steamships now ply the navigable rivers, and railroads are being rapidly built.

Necessity for investments stimulates imperialism

The process of colonization and of westernizing the Oriental peoples has been further hastened by the anxiety of capitalists to find advantageous investments for their surplus wealth. The profits of industry pile up so rapidly that stock companies are

everywhere formed to develop railroads and mines in backward countries. Great Britain alone is said to have about ten billion dollars invested abroad; one fifth of Russian industrial enterprises are financed by foreigners, who are also to a considerable extent constructing the railroads in China. The Germans supply the money for large banking concerns in Brazil, Buenos Ayres, and Valparaiso, which in turn stimulate industry and the construction of railways.

Influence of manufacturers and capitalists on foreign policies of governments

These two powerful forces — factories seeking markets and capital seeking investment — are shaping the foreign and commercial policies of every important European country. They alone explain why the great industrial nations are embarking on what has been termed a policy of *imperialism*, which means a policy of adding distant territories for the purpose of controlling their products, getting the trade with the natives, and investing money in the development of natural resources.[1] Sometimes this imperialism takes the form of outright annexation, such as the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States, or of Togoland by Germany. Again, it assumes the form of a "protectorate," which is a declaration on the part of a nation to the effect that, "This is our particular piece of land; we are not intending to take all the responsibility of governing it just now; but we want other nations to keep out, for we may annex it sooner or later." Sometimes imperialism goes no farther than the securing of concessions in undeveloped countries, such as foreigners have obtained in China or citizens of the United States in Mexico; but such concessions are a fruitful source of annexations, especially when the interests of investors are not thoroughly protected by the government that grants them franchises.

Nature of modern imperialism

The missionaries prepare the way for imperialism

The way for imperialism had been smoothed by the missionaries.[2] There have always been ardent Christians ready to obey the command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel

[1] For an argument in favor of imperialism, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 411 *sqq.*

[2] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 415 *sqq.*

to every creature" (Mark xvi. 15). No sooner was a new country brought to the attention of Europeans than missionaries flocked thither with the traders and soldiers. When America was discovered and the sea route opened to the East, the Franciscan and Dominican friars braved every danger to bring the gospel to them that sat in darkness. They were reënforced about 1540 by the powerful Jesuit order. Francis Xavier began his famous missionary career in 1542, first visiting India, then Japan, and dying within sight of the shores of China, yearning to penetrate that mysterious land. The activities of his fellow-Jesuits in Canada and the Mississippi Valley and in South America have been mentioned earlier.

Roman Catholic missions

In 1622 the great missionary board of the Roman Catholic Church was given its final organization and the name it still retains, — *Congregatio de propaganda Fide*. It has its headquarters at Rome and is composed of twenty-nine cardinals and their assistants. In its colleges and schools missionaries are trained for their work and taught the requisite languages. Its printing office issues the necessary books and tracts. Of the various Catholic associations which have been formed to assist it in its work the most important is the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which, since its formation at Lyons in 1822, has contributed over seventy million dollars to the cause. The Roman Catholic Church now reckons millions of adherents in Turkey, Persia, Arabia, India, Siam, Indo-China, Malaysia, the Chinese Republic, Korea, Japan, Africa, and Polynesia.

Protestant missions

For a long time after the Protestant Revolt the reformed churches showed little ardor for foreign missions, although as early as 1556 Calvin's city of Geneva sent men to preach the gospel in Brazil. The Dutch undertook to Christianize the East Indies in 1602, and their rivals, the English, also did something to promote missions. Among the earliest Protestant missionary associations was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in 1695 and conducted under the auspices of the Church of England. In the eighteenth century the

Moravians and Methodists joined in the efforts to convert the heathen, and in 1792 William Carey, a cobbler and Baptist minister, formed the Baptist Missionary Union.

The United States entered the field in 1810, when the American Board of Foreign Missions was organized. As time went on, practically all the Protestant denominations established each its board of foreign missions, and the United States has rivaled Europe in the distinction and energy of the missionaries it has sent out and in the generous support its people have given them. About the middle of the nineteenth century the various boards began to hold conferences with the object of rendering their work more efficient by coöperation and by dividing up the fields among the various boards. Bible societies have been engaged in translating the Scriptures into every known language and scattering copies of them broadcast. It is estimated that Protestants contribute about twenty million dollars a year to foreign missions. This sum serves to support some fourteen or fifteen thousand missionaries, who have gathered into their churches a million and a half converts.

Important effects of missions in spreading European culture

Missionaries have usually been the first to bring regions remote from Europe into contact with western civilization. They have not alone spread the knowledge of the Christian religion and its standards of morality, but have carried with them modern scientific ideas and modern inventions. They have reduced to writing the languages of peoples previously ignorant of the existence of an alphabet. They have conquered cruel superstitions, extirpated human sacrifices and cannibalism, and done much to make the lot of woman more tolerable. Their physicians have introduced rational methods of treating the sick, and their schools have given an education to millions who without them would have been left in complete barbarism. Finally, they have encouraged thousands of Japanese, Chinese, and representatives of other peoples to visit Europe and America, and thus prepare themselves to become apostles of western ideas among their fellows. The explorations and investigations carried

on by the missionaries have served vastly to increase the general knowledge of the world and its inhabitants. Their maps and their scientific reports on languages and customs have in many instances proved of the highest value. They have also created a demand for western commodities and opened the way for trade.

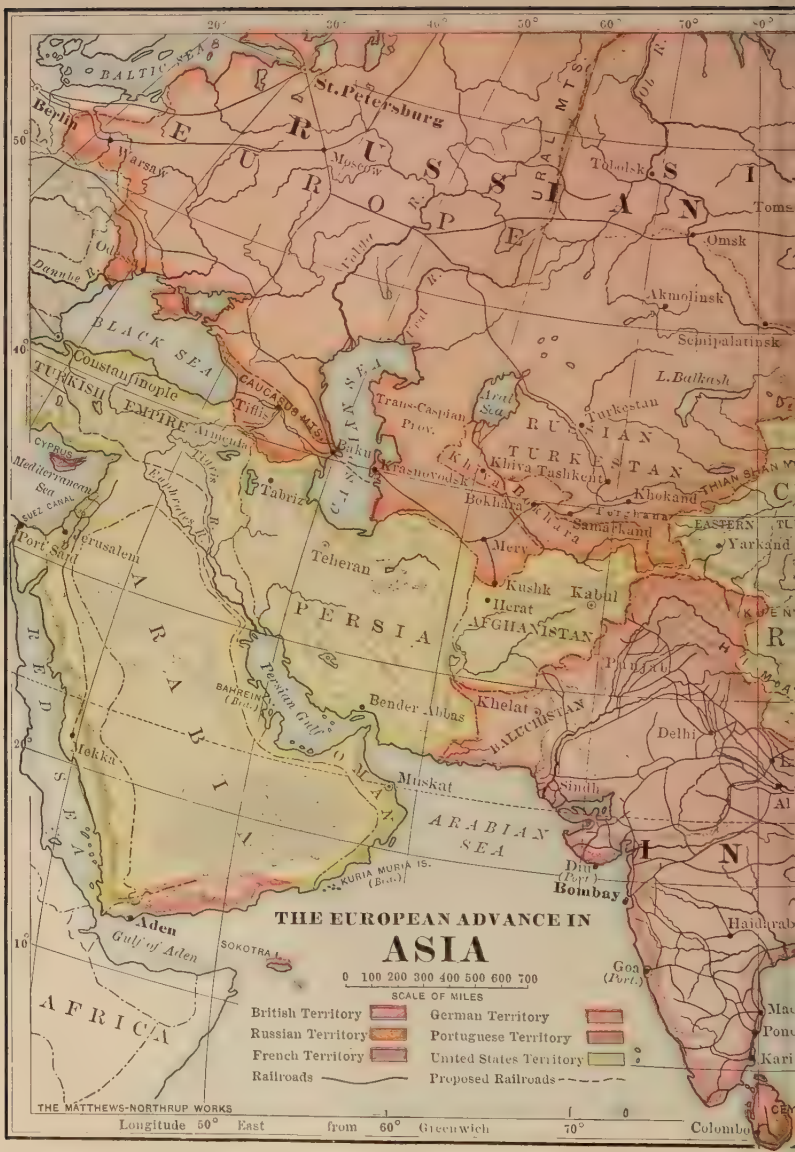
How missions have led to the extension of European control in Asia and Africa

In some instances the missionaries have doubtless shown too little appreciation of the ancient culture of India, China, and Japan. They have rudely denounced the cherished traditions and the rooted prejudices of the peoples to whom they came. Even the most prudent and sagacious among them could hardly have avoided arousing the hostility of those whose most revered institutions they felt it their duty to attack. So it has come about that the missionaries have often been badly treated, have undergone great hardships, and have even been murdered by infuriated mobs. This has led to the armed interference of their respective governments, and has more than once, as we shall see, served as an excuse for annexations and the formation of protectorates and spheres of influence. Some illustrations of the rôle of the missionaries will be found in the following sections. We shall turn first to the development of Europe's interest in China.

Relations of Europe with China

The Portuguese and Dutch visit Canton

83. The relations of Europe to China extend back into ancient times. Some of the Roman emperors, including Marcus Aurelius, sent embassies to the Chinese monarch, and in the Middle Ages missionaries labored to introduce Christianity into China. It was not, however, until after the opening of the water route around the Cape of Good Hope that European trade with China became important. Early in the sixteenth century the Portuguese merchants appeared in Chinese harbors, offering western merchandise in exchange for tea and silks. In 1537 the Portuguese rented a trifling bit of land of Macao, off Canton — a post which they hold to-day.


THE EUROPEAN ADVANCE IN
ASIA
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
SCALE OF MILES
British Territory
Russian Territory
French Territory
Railroads
German Territory
Portuguese Territory
United States Territory
Proposed Railroads
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS
Longitude 50° East from 60° Greenwich 70°
BALTIC SEA
St. Petersburg
Berlin
Warsaw
Moscow
EUROPE
RUSSIA
URAL MTS.
Tobolsk
Omsk
Akmolinsk
Semipalatinsk
L. Balkash
Danube R.
Odessa
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
CAUCASUS MTS.
Tiflis
Armenia
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
CASPIAN SEA
Trans-Caspian Prov.
Aral Sea
Baku
Krasnovodsk
Khiva
Khiva Tashkent
Bokhara
Samarkand
Khokand
Turkestan
RUSSIAN TURKESTAN
THIAN SHAN
EASTERN
Yarkand
Merv
Kushk
Herat
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
Punjab
Khelat
BALUCHISTAN
Delhi
Sindh
Bender Abbas
Persian Gulf
BAHREIN (Brit.)
Muskat
OMAN
ARABIAN SEA
KURIA MURIA IS. (Brit.)
Diu (Port.)
Bombay
Haidarab
Goa (Port.)
Colombo
Tabriz
Teheran
PERSIA
Mediterranean Sea
CYPRUS
SUEZ CANAL
Port Said
Jerusalem
ARABIA
RED SEA
Mekka
Aden
Gulf of Aden
SOKOTRA I.
AFRICA
20°
30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
50°
40°
20°
10°

100°
110°
120°
130°
140°
150°
50°
30°
20°
10°
90°
Okhotsk
Lena R.
STANOVOI RANGE
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SAKHALIN
KURIL IS.
Yeniseisk
Krasnoyarsk
L. Baikal
Irkutsk
Amur R.
Khabarovsk
YEZO
MANCHURIA
Harbin
Kirin
Vladivostok
Hakodate
SEA OF JAPAN
HONDO
Tokio
Yokohama
Kobe
Tie Pass
Mukden
Liaoyang
MONGOLIA
Desert of Gobi
Peking
Tientsin
Pt. Arthur
Weihaiwei (Brit.)
YELLOW SEA
Kiauchau (Ger.)
Shimonoseki
Nagasaki
Shanghai
Nanking
Hankau
Singan
CHINA
EAST CHINA SEA
Ningpo
Fuchau
Amoy
FORMOSA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Canton
Hongkong (Brit.)
Macao
Kwangchauwan (Fr.)
HAINAN
Gulf of Tonkin
TONKIN
Hanoi
Lassa
BHUTAN
Mandalay
BURMA
Rangoon
BAY OF BENGAL
ANDAMAN IS.
Bangkok
SIAM
Mekong R.
CAMBODIA
Saigon
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
CHINA SEA
Manila
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (to U. S.)
Sulu Sea
Gulf of Siam
COCHIN CHINA
CONDORE I.
NORTH BORNEO
SARAWAK
BORNEO
CELEBES SEA
CELEBES
Malay Peninsula
NICOBAR IS.
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS
Singapore

Chinese exclusiveness

It must be said, however, that the Chinese did not welcome foreign interference. Their officials regarded the European merchants as barbarians. When, in 1655, the Dutch sent two envoys to the Chinese emperor, they were only received on condition that they would prostrate themselves before his throne and strike their heads nine times on the earth as evidence of their inferiority. In spite of this treatment Dutch and English merchants flocked to Canton, the sole port at which the Chinese emperor permitted regular commerce with foreign countries.

The "Opium War"

Repeated efforts were made, particularly by the English, to get into direct communication with the government at Peking, but they were steadily rebuffed and were only able to establish the commercial relations which they sought by an armed conflict in 1840, known as the "Opium War."[1] The Chinese had attempted to prevent all traffic in this drug, but the English found it so profitable that they were unwilling to give up the trade. When, in 1839, the Chinese government seized many thousand chests of opium and informed the British that the traffic would have to stop, war broke out.

Treaty ports opened

The British, of course, with their modern implements of warfare, were speedily victorious, and the Chinese were forced to agree, in the Treaty of Nanking, to pay a heavy indemnity, to cede to the British the island of Honkong, which lies at the mouth of the Canton River, and to open to foreign commerce the ports of Amoy, Fuchau, Ningpo, and Shanghai on the same terms as Canton. The United States, taking advantage of this war, secured similar commercial privileges in 1844.

From the Opium War to the present date China has been troubled with foreign invasions. Napoleon III, supported by the English, waged war on China in 1858 and forced the emperor to open new ports to European trade, including Tientsin, which was dangerously near the imperial city of Peking. Since that time other leading ports have been opened, and now there are over forty points where foreign merchants

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 419 *sqq.*

may conduct operations, although Canton and Shanghai are still the most important. Some inland towns have also been opened and now offer advantages for extending commerce far beyond the seacoast, to which trade had been so long confined.

How Japan became a World Power

The position and extent of the empire of Japan

84. To the northeast of China lies a long group of islands which, if they lay off the eastern coast of North America, would extend from Maine to Georgia. This archipelago, comprising four main islands and some four thousand smaller ones, is the center of the Japanese Empire. Fifty years ago Japan was still almost completely isolated from the rest of the world; but now, through a series of extraordinary events, she has become one of the conspicuous members of the family of nations. American newspapers deal as fully with her foreign policy as with that of France or Germany; we are familiar with the portraits of her statesmen and warriors, and her exquisite art has many enthusiastic admirers in England and America. Her people, who are somewhat more numerous than the inhabitants of the British Isles, resemble the Chinese in appearance and owe to China the beginnings of their culture and their art, for it was Buddhist missionaries from Korea who, in the sixth century, first aroused Japan from its previous barbarism.

The feudal period in Japan

Little is known of the early Mikados (emperors) of Japan, and during the twelfth century the *shogun*, or commander in chief of the empire, was able to bring the sovereign powers into his own hands (somewhat as the mayor of the palace had done in the Frankish kingdom), while the emperor began to live in retirement in his capital of Kyoto. Conditions in Japan resembled those in western Europe during the same period. Scattered about the country were the castles of powerful feudal lords (the *daimios*), who continued, until the nineteenth century, to enjoy powers similar to the vassals of the mediæval European kings.

Rumors of the existence of Japan reached Europe through the Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, at the end of the thirteenth

century, but the Portuguese navigator Pinto appears to have been the first European to reach Japan, in the year 1542. Some years later the great Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, accompanied by some Japanese who had been converted to Christianity at Goa, made the first attempt to preach the Christian faith in the island. Spanish missionaries from Manila carried on the work, and it is reported that within thirty years two hundred Christian churches had been erected and fifty thousand converts made.

Brief period of intercourse with Europeans in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century

The arrogance of the bishops, however, led the Japanese government to issue an edict, in 1586, forbidding the Japanese to accept Christianity, and ten years later some twenty thousand converts are said to have been put to death. For a time the shoguns favored the few Dutch and English merchants who came to their shores and permitted factories to be opened at Yedo and elsewhere, but the quarrels between the Dutch and English and the constant drain of silver paid out for foreign merchandise led the Japanese to impose restrictions on foreigners, so that in the time of Louis XIV all of them had departed, except a few Dutch on the island of Deshima. From that time on, for nearly two hundred years, Japan remained a nation apart, with practically no intercourse with foreigners.

Persecution of Christian missionaries and expulsion of foreigners

In 1853 Commodore Perry visited Yokohama with a message from the United States government to the "Sovereign of Japan," asking that arrangements be made to protect the property and persons of Americans wrecked on the coasts, and that the right be extended to Americans to dispose of their cargoes at one or more ports.[1] Supposing that the shogun was the ruler of Japan, Commodore Perry presented his demands to him. These led to a long and earnest discussion in the shogun's council, as to whether foreigners should be admitted or not, but their demands were finally conceded, and two ports were opened to American and English ships.

Commodore Perry opens negotiations with the shogun in 1853

Within the next few years several of the European powers had arranged to trade at the ports of Hakodate, Yokohama,

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 424 *sqq*.

Foreigners attacked in the name of the Mikado

Nagasaki, and a little later at Kobe. Attacks, however, were made upon foreigners in the name of the emperor, who disapproved the shogun's action. An Englishman by the name of Richardson was killed in 1862 on the great highroad between Yedo and Kyoto, by the retainers of the powerful daimio of Satsuma, whereupon the English bombarded Kagoshima, the stronghold of the Satsuma clan.

Two leading clans become convinced that they have much to learn from the western nations

This produced an extraordinary change of heart in this leading clan, one of the most powerful in Japan, for it saw that the foreigners were much more powerful than the Japanese, and that Japan would suffer as China had done unless she acquainted herself with foreign science and inventions. The next year English ships bombarded Shimonoseki, on account of the refusal of its feudal ruler to permit them to pass freely through the Inland Sea. This produced an effect similar to the bombardment of Kagoshima, and public opinion in Japan gradually changed in favor of the admission of foreigners.

The Mikado orders his people to cease maltreating Europeans, 1868

In 1867 the late Mikado, Mutsuhito (d. 1912), then fifteen years of age, ascended the throne. In March of the next year, he invited Sir Harry Parkes, a representative of Great Britain, as well as the representatives of France and the Netherlands, to Kyoto. He was deeply chagrined by an attack made upon the retinue of Sir Harry Parkes and publicly declared that any one who committed any deed of violence toward foreigners would be acting in opposition to his Majesty's express orders. With this episode the period of resistance to the foreigners, their trade and their religion, may be said to have closed.

Revolution in Japan. Disappearance of the shogunate and of feudalism

Meanwhile a great revolution was taking place in Japan; the power of the shogun was rapidly declining, and in October, 1867, he was forced to resign his office. This left the Mikado not only the nominal but the real ruler of Japan. He emerged from his ancient seclusion in the sacred city of Kyoto, and removed the capital to Yedo, which was given the new name of Tokyo, or "northern capital." The feudal princes, who had, in general, sided with the Mikado against the shogun, now agreed peacefully

to surrender their titles and prerogatives in the interests of their country, and in July, 1871, feudalism was formally abolished throughout the empire. Serfdom was also done away with and the army and navy reformed in accordance with western models.

The Industrial Revolution in Japan

Since that date the modernizing of Japan has progressed with incredible rapidity. Although the Japanese still continue to carry on their ancient industries, kneeling on their straw mats, with a few simple implements and no machinery, western industries have been introduced side by side with the older arts. Students were sent abroad to investigate the most recent achievements in science, a university was established at Tokyo, and the system of education completely revolutionized. There was not a steam mill in the islands when Commodore Perry cast anchor there; now there are nearly a hundred great cotton factories. Since the railroad between Tokyo and the neighboring port of Yokohama was opened in 1872, several thousand miles of railways have been constructed, and the Japanese, who are very fond of travel, can go readily from one end to the other of their archipelago. Great towns have sprung up. Tokyo has over two million inhabitants, and the manufacturing city of Osaka more than a million. The total population of the islands is now over fifty-one millions, more than one half that of the United States, but crowded into an area of about one hundred and seventy-five thousand square miles.

Constitutional government established in Japan, 1890

With this industrial progress came inevitably a demand for representative government, and as early as 1877 petitions for a constitution were laid before the emperor. Four years later he announced that a parliament would be established in 1890, and a commission was sent to Europe to study constitutional government there. In 1889 a constitution was completed which vested the powers of government in the Mikado and a parliament of two houses.[1]

[1] For extracts, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 431 *sqq.*

War between Japan and China and its Results

Japan seeks an outlet for her products

85. After carrying out the various reforms mentioned above, Japan found herself confronted, like the western nations, with the necessity of extending her trade and securing foreign markets. Her merchants and her ships became the rivals of the Europeans in the neighboring seas, where her commerce has increased far more rapidly than that of the western nations.

The Chino-Japanese War over Korea, 1894–1895

On the opposite side of the Sea of Japan lies Korea, a land which has become well known throughout the world on account of the two bloody wars to which the question of its possession has given rise. For a long time China and Japan were rival claimants to the Korean kingdom. When Japanese trade developed, the question of control in Korea became an important one, and in 1894 it led to war between the two countries. But the Chinese, with their ancient weapons and organization, were no match for the Japanese, who had eagerly adopted every device of western warfare, and in a short time the Chinese armies had been driven from Korea and the campaign was transferred to the neighboring Manchuria, where the Japanese took Port Arthur. China then called upon the western powers for assistance, but they did not take action until Japan, in the Treaty of Shimonoseki, had forced China's representative, Li Hung Chang, to recognize the complete independence of Korea (which practically meant opening it up to the Japanese) and to cede to Japan Port Arthur, the Liaotung peninsula on which it lies, and the island of Formosa.

Russia, France, and Germany drive Japan from the mainland

Russia, France, and Germany had watched the course of events with jealous eyes, and now intervened to prevent Japan from securing a foothold on the mainland. Russia was the real leader in this intervention, for she coveted just the region which had been ceded to Japan. Japan was exhausted by the war with China and at that time had no adequate navy. Therefore the Mikado, at the demand of the three powers, withdrew from Manchuria.

Russia thereupon gains valuable concessions in China

The result of this compromise was to throw China into the arms of Russia, which proceeded to take every advantage of the situation. China had been forced to pay a heavy indemnity to Japan in lieu of the cession of the Liaotung peninsula; and when the Chinese government attempted to borrow a large sum from England to meet this obligation, Russia interfered and herself loaned China eighty million dollars without security. In this way China became dependent upon her as a creditor. The Russians were permitted by the Chinese emperor to build a railroad across his territory, which would enable them to reach Vladivostok by a direct line from Irkutsk. Moreover, in order to guard the railway line, Russian soldiers were to be introduced freely into Manchuria. It is clear that these arrangements gave Russia a great advantage over the other European powers, since she controlled the Chinese government through its debt and occupied Manchuria with her soldiers.

Germany seizes territory in the Shantung peninsula

Meanwhile the Germans found an excuse for strengthening themselves in the same region. A German missionary having been murdered in the province of Shantung, which lies opposite Korea, a German squadron appeared in Kiauchau Bay, in November, 1897, landed a force of marines, and raised the German flag. As a compensation for the murder of the missionary, Germany demanded a long lease of Kiauchau, with the right to build railways in the region and work mines. Since acquiring Kiauchau the Germans have built harbors, constructed forts, military barracks, machine shops, etc. In short, a model German town has been constructed on the Chinese coast, which, with its defenses, constitutes a fine base for further extension of Germany's sphere of influence.

Russia leases Port Arthur

At first the Tsar hoped to balk the plans of Germany, but decided, instead, to secure additional advantages for himself. Accordingly Port Arthur and the waters adjacent to the Liaotung peninsula upon which it lies were leased to Russia, in March, 1898, for a period of twenty-five years, subject to renewal by mutual consent. Port Arthur was to be open only

to Chinese and Russian vessels, and Russia immediately began to build fortifications which were believed to render the town impregnable. A railway was constructed to Harbin, connecting Port Arthur with Vladivostok and the Trans-Siberian Railway. This at last gave Russia a port on the Pacific which, unlike Vladivostok, was free from ice the year round.

The British lease Weihaiwei and conclude a treaty of alliance with Japan

Great Britain, learning of the negotiations, sent a fleet northward from Hongkong to the Gulf of Pechili, and induced China to lease to her Weihaiwei, which lay just between the recent acquisitions of Germany and Russia. England, morover, believed it to be for her interest to be on good terms with Japan, and in 1902 an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the two powers, binding each to assist the other in case a third party joined in a conflict in which either was involved. For example, England must, under the provisions, aid Japan in a war with Russia, should France or Germany intervene.

The Boxer Rising. The Russo-Japanese War

The Europeans begin to develop the natural resources of China

86. The foreigners were by no means content with establishing trading posts in China; they longed to develop the neglected natural resources of the empire, to open up communication by railroads and steamships, and to "westernize" the Orientals, in order that business might be carried on more easily with them, and new opportunities be found for profitable investments.

Railroads built in China

The first railroad in China was built by British promoters in 1876, from Shanghai to Wu-Sung, a point some fifteen miles to the north of that city. The Chinese, however, were horrified by this innovation, which they felt to be a desecration of the graves of their ancestors. Yielding to popular prejudice the government purchased the railroad, only to destroy it and throw the locomotives into the river. Nevertheless, five years later, the Chinese themselves, with the aid of British capital, began the construction of an imperial railroad system which now embraces

about six hundred miles. In 1895 other foreigners besides the Russians were once more permitted to undertake the construction of railway lines, and there are now several thousand miles of road open for traffic. The French and Germans are also interested in opening up the regions within their spheres of influence, and the British are planning to push into the interior of China a line running northward from Rangoon through Mandalay. Thousands of miles of railway are now projected, and doubtless within half a century China will be covered with a network of lines which cannot fail to do much to revolutionize her ancient habits and civilization.

Steamships, post, and telegraph

In 1898 the internal water ways of China were opened to foreign ships. Several lines of well-equipped steamships now ply on the Canton River and follow the waters of the Yangtze River for a thousand miles inland. Many thousand miles of telegraph lines are in operation, affording overland connection with Europe. The post office, organized in 1897, has branches throughout the republic.

China begins a great series of reforms

It was inevitable that intercourse with European nations should affect the whole policy and ideals of the Chinese government. In 1889 a decree was issued establishing an annual audience in which the emperor might show his "desire to treat with honor all the foreign ministers resident in Peking." A few years later the cumbersome ancient ceremonial was abolished and foreigners were received in a manner which indicated the recognition of their equality with Chinese of the same rank. In 1898, when Prince Henry of Prussia visited Peking, he was cordially greeted by the emperor, who shook hands with him in western fashion and conversed with him on a familiar footing.

In the same year a series of decrees was issued with the object of reforming the army on models offered by those nations that had given so many proofs of their military superiority. New schools and colleges were planned with a view of starting the country on the road to progress. Chinese students were sent to Europe to study foreign methods of government, agricultural

schools were built, patent and copyright laws were introduced, and a department of mines and railroads was established, in order that China might no longer be obliged to leave these matters entirely in the hands of foreigners. Journalists were even encouraged to write on political questions.

The conservatives oppose reforms in China

These abrupt reforms aroused the superstitious horror of the conservative party. They found a sympathetic leader in the Dowager Empress, who had been regent during the early years of the emperor's reign. She succeeded in regaining her influence and in putting an end, for the time being, to the distasteful reforms. The Europeans, both missionaries and business men, nevertheless continued their activities, and the conservatives believed it necessary, therefore, to organize a great movement to drive out the "foreign devils," who had been, in their eyes, steadily undermining the ancient traditions of China.

The "Boxers"

Among those hostile to the foreigner none were more conspicuous than the secret society of the "Boxers," or, as they appear to have called themselves, the "Order of the Patriotic Harmonious Fists." They were quite willing to coöperate with the Dowager Empress in carrying out her designs against foreign influence. They proclaimed that the western nations were "lacerating China like tigers"; and summoned every patriotic Chinaman to rise in defense of his country.

The Peking insurrection of 1900

The party in favor of meeting the "Christian Peril" by violence rapidly increased. The Boxers, who were arming and drilling, knew very well that neither the Chinese officials nor the imperial troops would interfere with them. Missionaries and traders were murdered in the provinces, and although the government at Peking always declared that it was doing all it could to suppress disorder, the representatives of foreign nations in the capital became thoroughly alarmed. On June 20, 1900, the Boxers, supported by the troops, killed the German ambassador, Baron von Ketteler, while on his way to the palace to expostulate with the government. The Europeans were then besieged in the several legations and in the Catholic cathedral,

but, for some reason which is not clear, the Chinese did not murder them all, as they might easily have done.[1]

The powers intervene and settle affairs in China

The powers determined upon immediate intervention, and in August a relief expedition, made up of Japanese, Russian, British, American, French, and German troops, fought its way from Tientsin to Peking, and brought relief to the imprisoned foreigners. The Chinese court left Peking, and the royal palace was desecrated and pillaged by the European troops, whose scandalous conduct disgraced the western world. Negotiations were now opened, and the aged Li Hung Chang rendered his last services by concluding an agreement in which China made certain reparations, including the payment of an indemnity of three hundred and twenty million dollars, and promised to repress all anti-foreign societies.

The Chinese reform movement renewed

Although the Dowager Empress still retained her power, the work of reform was again undertaken. The work of reorganizing the army was renewed, and students were again sent abroad in large numbers to investigate western methods of industry and government. By one of the most momentous decrees in the intellectual history of the world, the ancient classical system of education, which had for centuries been deemed an essential preparation for public office, was abolished in 1905.[2] Students preparing for the government service are no longer examined upon Confucius and asked to write essays on such subjects as "How the moonlight sleeps on the lake"; for the new examination questions deal with the history of the West, with Metternich and Bismarck, and with such grave questions as the relation of capital to labor and the methods of stimulating modern industry. Even the Dowager Empress was obliged to yield to the progressive party, and in September, 1906, she went so far as to announce that China should prepare herself for the introduction of representative government and of a parliament.[3]

[1] For an account of the Boxer rising, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 436 *sqq.*

[2] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 441 *sqq.*

[3] For the revolution of 1911–1912 in China, see below, p. 518.

Russo-Japanese rivalry in Korea and Manchuria leads to war, February, 1904

Scarcely had the troubles due to the Boxer rising been adjusted when a new war cloud appeared in the East. The interest of Japan in finding markets has already been mentioned. The occupation of Manchuria and Port Arthur by the Russians seriously threatened Japanese extension in that direction; and when Russia secured from Korea a lumber cession in the Yalu valley and sent Cossacks to build forts in that region, Japan, which regarded Korea as lying within her sphere of influence, could hardly fail to protest. Russia had agreed repeatedly to withdraw from Manchuria, but had always failed to keep her promises when the time came. She had, moreover, guaranteed the integrity of Korea, upon whose territory she was now encroaching. Accordingly, in the summer of 1903, Japan opened negotiations with the Tsar's government with the object of inducing it to explain its purposes in Manchuria and Korea. Russia delayed and refused to commit herself. The Japanese, determined to have Korea for themselves, broke off diplomatic relations on February 5, 1904, and opened hostilities.

Japan far better prepared for war than Russia

Japan was well prepared for war and was, moreover, within easy reach of the field of conflict. The Russian government, on the contrary, was rotten to the core and was already engaged in a terrible struggle with the Russian nation.[1] The eastern boundary of European Russia lay three thousand miles from Port Arthur and the Yalu River, and the only means of communication was the single line of badly constructed railroad that stretched across Siberia to the Pacific.

Early reverses of the Russians on the seas

Three days after the war opened the Japanese fleet surprised the Russian battle ships lying off Port Arthur, sank four of them, and drove the rest into the harbor, where they succeeded, in the main, in keeping them "bottled up." A second fleet which had been stationed at Vladivostok was defeated early in May, thus giving Japan control of the seas. At the same time the Russians were driven back from the Yalu, and the Japanese under General Oku landed on the Liaotung peninsula, cut

[1] See above, pp. 447 *sqq.*

off Port Arthur from communication with Russia, and captured the town of Dalny, which they made their naval headquarters. General Oku then began pushing the Russians northward toward Mukden, while General Nogi was left to besiege Port Arthur. For months the world watched in suspense the heroic attacks which the Japanese, at deadly cost to themselves, made upon the Russian fortress. Meanwhile fighting continued to the north along the line of the railroad. In October the Japanese were victorious in a fearful battle which raged south of Mukden for days, thus putting an end to General Kuropatkin's designs for relieving Port Arthur. As winter came on, the Japanese redoubled their efforts and the fortress at last surrendered, on January 1, 1905, after a siege of seven months, the horrors of which are perhaps without a parallel.

Siege of Port Arthur

The conduct of the war on the part of the Japanese affords one of the most extraordinary examples on record of military organization and efficiency. By means of an ingenious system of telephones they kept every division of the army in direct communication with the war office in Tokyo, and by the strictest discipline they checked disease and contagion in the hospitals. The Russian sanitary service was also of high order, as compared with previous wars. Late in February fighting again began, and for three weeks the Russians struggled against the combined Japanese armies; but on March 9 they deserted Mukden and moved northward, after forty thousand of them had been killed and over a hundred thousand wounded.

Mukden captured by the Japanese, March, 1905

On learning of the destruction of the fleets in the Pacific the Russian government determined to dispatch its Baltic squadron to the Orient. After some strange adventures, which aroused both the amusement and the disgust of those who were following the war,[1] the fleet arrived in May in the Straits of Korea, where Admiral Togo was waiting for it. In a few hours he sank

Togo destroys the Russian fleet in the Straits of Korea, May 27, 1905

[1] As the squadron was passing through the North Sea the Russians fired upon a fishing fleet off Dogger Bank, and alleged later that they mistook the poor fishermen for Japanese. This is but one of numerous examples of the incompetence which was shown by the Russians throughout the war.

twenty-two of the Russian vessels and captured six. The Tsar's fleet was practically annihilated, with terrible loss of life, while the Japanese came out of the conflict almost unscathed.[1]

The Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905

Lest the war should drag on indefinitely, President Roosevelt, acting under the provisions of the Hague Convention,[2] took measures which brought about a peace. After consulting the representatives of Japan and Russia at Washington and ascertaining the attitude of the neutral powers, he dispatched notes to the Tsar and Mikado, urging them to open negotiations.[3] This invitation was accepted, and on August 9 the first session of the conference was held at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. On September 5 the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed. This recognized the Japanese influence as paramount in Korea, which, however, was to remain independent.[4] Both the Japanese and Russians were to evacuate Manchuria; the Japanese were, however, given the rights in the Liaotung peninsula and Port Arthur which Russia had formerly enjoyed. Lastly, the southern part of the Russian island of Sakhalin was ceded to Japan.

No final settlement yet reached in the Far East

Thus this great conflict produced by the friction of the powers in the East was brought to an end, but there seems to be no hope that similar wars can be avoided in the future, for it would appear that the process of "opening up" China is bound to continue at an ever-increasing rate, with manifold possibilities of rivalry and violence. England and Japan, it is true, have renewed their treaty of alliance and announced their intention to maintain peace and the "open door," that is, the right of all nations to participate in trade with China. But even if the European powers can agree among themselves, China may develop a strong and efficient government and a highly

[1] For Admiral Togo's account of the battle, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 445 *sq.*

[2] See below, p. 503.

[3] See *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 447.

[4] The Japanese have not left Korea independent. They immediately took control of the administration, and in the summer of 1907 forced the Korean emperor most unwillingly to abdicate. Finally by the treaty of August 23, 1910, Korea was annexed to the Japanese empire and named "Chosen."

disciplined army, and may undertake with more and more success to resist the continued encroachments of those who have established themselves on her borders.

Occupation of Africa by the European Powers

The ancients knew little of the main body of the African continent

87. The vast continent of Africa, the northeastern corner of which was the seat of perhaps the first highly civilized people, was the last of the great divisions of the earth's surface to be explored and appropriated by the European nations. The lower valley of the Nile and the coasts which bound the Mediterranean on the south were well known to the ancients, and were included in the Roman Empire, but the upper reaches of that great river and the main body of the continent to the south of the Desert of Sahara, were practically unknown to them, and they had no suspicions that the land extended for five thousand miles to the south of Carthage.

How the Mohammedans conquered northern Africa

Shortly after the death of Mohammed in 632, his followers began the conquest of Egypt and northern Africa, and in less than a hundred years they had subdued all the region which had formerly been ruled from Rome. From Cape Guardafui on the extreme east, to Cape Verde, lying on the Atlantic, nearly five thousand miles to the west, they introduced their civilization and religion, so that to-day in the towns of Tunis and Morocco one sees many things to remind him of the conditions in Palestine or Arabia. The Mohammedans built up a flourishing trade with the interior; they traversed the deserts and opened caravan routes through the sandy wastes; they pushed their trading settlements down the east coast as far as a point opposite Madagascar; they made maps of that portion of the continent with which they had become familiar, and described its climate and appearance. The knowledge which the Mohammedans had acquired naturally spread into Spain, which long formed a part of their dominions, and it appears probable that the Portuguese, who began to explore the west coast of Africa in the fifteenth

century, also received such information as they possessed from the Moors.

Slow advance of the Europeans in Africa

Europe was, however, a long time taking advantage of such knowledge of Africa as it secured through the Mohammedans. Although the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486, they found traffic in the East Indies too profitable to warrant their spending any time exploring and settling the uninviting interior of Africa. The most important trade which sprang up with that continent was the slave traffic, which was soon undertaken by the English, whose enterprising slavers made enormous fortunes at that cruel business. The Europeans generally were too busy settling the more inviting portions of the New World to undertake serious colonization in Africa. The Dutch post, established at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, did not prove to be very successful and had only a population of ten thousand at the opening of the nineteenth century. The French station, St. Louis, founded at the mouth of the Senegal River in the seventeenth century, was nothing more than a trading station; but it was destined to become important in the nineteenth century as a basis for the extension of French power in northwest Africa.

The situation in 1815

No serious attempts had been made by any of the European powers to colonize any portion of Africa before the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815. Indeed, the suppression of the slave trade had discouraged further activity for a time,[1] for this traffic had been more profitable than the combined trade in gold, ivory, gum, and other African commodities.

The situation in 1815 may be summed up as follows: In northern Africa the Sultan of Turkey was the nominal suzerain of Egypt and the so-called Barbary States, that is, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria. Morocco was, however, an independent state, as it still is nominally, under the Sultan of Morocco. France maintained her foothold at the mouth of the Senegal; the most important Portuguese possessions were in Lower Guinea and

[1] See above, p. 234.

on the east coast opposite the island of Madagascar; the British held some minor posts along the west coast, and had wrested Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars. The heart of Africa was still unknown; no European power contemplated laying claim to the arid waste of the Sahara Desert, and the more attractive regions of the upper Nile were ruled by semicivilized Mohammedan chiefs.

Advance of France and England in Africa during the first half of the nineteenth century

For fifty years after the Congress of Vienna the advance of European powers in Africa was very slow indeed. England and France were, it is true, gradually extending their spheres of influence, and explorers were tracing the rivers and mountain chains of the interior. France, as has been explained, conquered Algiers during this period,[1] and formally annexed it in 1848. The Dutch Boers, disgusted with English rule, had migrated to the north, and laid the foundations of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies.[2]

Explorations of Livingstone and others

The latter half of the nineteenth century was, however, a time of active exploration in Africa. It is impossible here even to name all those adventurers who braved the torrid heat and fevers and the danger from savages and wild beasts. Under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society of England a search was begun for the mysterious sources of the Nile, and a lake lying just south of the equator was discovered in 1858 and named Victoria Nyanza. In 1864 Sir Samuel Baker discovered another lake, Albert Nyanza, to the northwest, and explored its connections with the Nile River. Livingstone had visited Bechuanaland twenty years before, and pushed up the valley of the Zambesi River, tracing it nearly to its source. In 1866 he explored the regions about the lakes of Nyassa and Tanganyika, and reached a point on the upper Congo. This expedition attracted general attention throughout the civilized world. His long absence roused the fear that he was, perhaps, the prisoner of some savage tribe, and on his return to Lake Tanganyika he was met by Henry Stanley, another explorer, who had been sent

[1] See above, p. 377. [2] See above, pp. 425 *sqq.*

out by the New York *Herald* to search for him.[1] Livingstone, who was both missionary and explorer, continued his work until his death in 1873.

Stanley's discoveries

Two years later Lieutenant Cameron, at the head of an English expedition which had also been organized with the hope of finding Livingstone, on learning of his death started from Zanzibar on the Indian Ocean and struggled through the heart of Africa, until he caught sight of the Atlantic Ocean at Benguela, south of the Congo River. The same year Stanley set out upon an expedition which is regarded as the most important in the annals of African exploration. After visiting Lakes Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika, he journeyed across the country to the river Lualaba, and followed its course until he proved that it was only the headwaters of the Congo, down which he found his way to the Atlantic. Meanwhile other explorers, French and German, as well as English, were constantly adding to the knowledge of a hitherto unknown continent.

Rapid partition of Africa

Stanley's famous journey through the heart of "Darkest Africa" naturally aroused the intense interest of all the European powers, and within ten years after his triumphant return to Marseilles in 1878, the entire surface of Africa had been divided up among the powers, or marked out into "spheres of influence." A generation ago a map of Africa was for the most part indefinite and conjectural, except along the coast. To-day its natural features have been largely determined, and it is traversed by boundary lines almost as carefully drawn as those which separate the various European countries. The manner in which the English, French, and Germans have asserted their claims in Africa has been briefly explained in preceding chapters.

French possessions

The whole of the northwestern shoulder of the continent, from the mouth of the Congo to Tunis, belongs, with some exceptions, to France. It must be remembered, however, that a very considerable portion of the French claim is nothing but a desert, totally useless in its present state. On the east coast

[1] For Stanley's account of the meeting, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 449 *sqq*.

of Africa France controls French Somaliland, and her port of Jibuti, which lies at the mouth of the Red Sea, gives her somewhat the same advantages that Aden affords the English. The French also hold the island of Madagascar.

German possessions

Between 1884 and 1890 Germany acquired four considerable areas of African territory, which include together nearly a million square miles: Togoland, Kamerun, German Southwest Africa, and German East Africa. The Germans have made heroic efforts to develop these regions by building railways and schools, and expending enormous sums in other ways, but the wars with the natives and the slight commerce which has been established, leave the experiment one of doubtful value.

The "Belgian Congo"

Wedged in between German East Africa and the French Congo is the vast Belgian Congo, the history of which began with a conference held in Brussels in 1876 under the auspices of the king of Belgium. Representatives of most of the European countries were invited to attend, with a view to considering the best methods of opening up the region and of stopping the slave trade which was carried on by the Mohammedans in the interior. The result was the organization of an international African Association with its center at Brussels. The enterprise was, however, in reality the personal affair of King Leopold, who supplied from his own purse a large portion of the funds which were used by Stanley in exploring the Congo basin, establishing posts, and negotiating hundreds of treaties with the petty native chiefs.

The Berlin conference on the Congo territory

The activity of the African Association aroused the apprehensions of the European powers interested in Africa, especially England and Portugal, and a congress was called at Berlin to consider the situation. This met in November, 1884, and every European state except Switzerland sent delegates, as did the United States. The congress recognized the right of the African Association to the vast expanse drained by the Congo River, and declared the new territory a neutral state, the Congo Free State, open to the trade of all nations.

The following year King Leopold announced to the world that he had assumed sovereignty over the Congo Free State, and that he proposed to unite it in a personal union with Belgium. He gradually filled the government offices with Belgians and established customs lines with a view to raising revenue.

Alleged cruel treatment of the natives in the Congo Free State

During the opening years of the twentieth century the Belgians were charged with practicing atrocious cruelties on the natives.[1] There is reason to think that the hideous reports published in the newspapers were much exaggerated, but there is little doubt that the natives, as commonly happens in such cases, have suffered seriously at the hands of the European invader. King Leopold claimed ownership over the vacant land, and in this way roused the hatred of the peoples who have been used to roaming freely in every direction. By a system of "apprenticeship" many of the blacks have been reduced to the condition of slaves. Labor is hard to secure, for the natives are accustomed to a free life in the jungle, and do not relish driving spikes on railways or draining swamps for Belgian capitalists. The government therefore required native chiefs to furnish a certain number of workmen, and on their failure to supply the demand it has been customary to burn their villages. The government also required the natives to furnish a certain quantity of rubber each year; failure to comply with these demands has also brought summary punishment upon them.

The British government took care to report the conduct of the Belgian officials to the world, and it aroused loud protests in Europe and America; but those who know most about African conditions suspect that the English had a selfish interest in exaggerating the horrors of the situation, with the hope of ultimately extending their own control over the Congo regions. King Leopold and his agents stoutly maintained that they had been misrepresented, and claimed that their rubber business

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 453 *sq.*

did not kill so many natives as the whisky, which is such an important source of revenue to other nations, especially Great Britain. These alleged exposures led the Belgian ministry to take up the question of the Congo, and at length, in 1908, the government assumed complete ownership of the Free State, which then took the name of the Belgian Congo.

African possessions of Portugal, Italy, and Spain

The Portuguese still control remnants of the possessions to which they laid claim when South Africa was first brought to the attention of Europe, namely, Guinea, Angola, and East Africa. Italy has the colony of Eritrea on the coast of the Red Sea, and Italian Somaliland to the south of Cape Guardafui, and is attempting (in 1912) to wrest Tripoli from Turkey.[1] Spain's two colonies, one on the Straits of Gibraltar, the other on the Gulf of Guinea, only serve to remind her of the vast colonial empire which she has lost.

Morocco

Morocco still remains nominally independent of European powers, but is an object of contention among them. Its population, which is a curious mixture of Berbers, Tuaregs, Arabs, and negroes, has not materially changed its civilization during the past thousand years. The fierce tribesmen often defy the rule of their Sultan at Fez. A bandit leader, Raisuli, seized an English envoy to the Sultan, Sir Harry McLean, during the summer of 1907 and held him a prisoner for several months. This is but one of many instances which illustrate the inability of the Sultan of Morocco to control his subjects and protect foreigners.

The conference at Algeciras

Europeans, especially the French, have, in spite of many difficulties, gradually been developing relations with Morocco. They carry on a trade in almonds, gum, and the famous Moroccan goatskin, and have also lent money to the Sultan. The necessity of coming to an agreement in regard to their dealings with Morocco led to a conference of the powers at Algeciras, Spain (just across the bay from Gibraltar) in 1906. Their representatives agreed on the formation of a police force

[1] See below, p. 532.

under French and Spanish officers, and the organization of a state bank, which should be controlled by the powers.[1]

Mehemet Ali establishes himself and his successors as rulers of Egypt

In order to complete our survey of Africa, it is necessary to consider the singular circumstances which have served to bring Egypt under the control of the British. This ancient center of civilization had, as we have seen, been conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century. Eight hundred years later it was overrun by the Ottoman Turks, and in 1517 was organized as a province of the Turkish Empire. With the decline of the Sultan's power the country fell under the domination of the Beys, the leaders of a curious military band known as the Mamelukes; and it was against these that Bonaparte fought in 1798. Shortly after Nelson and the English had frustrated Bonaparte's attempt to bring Egypt under French rule, a military adventurer from Albania, Mehemet Ali, compelled the Sultan to recognize him as governor of Egypt in 1805. A few years later he brought about a massacre of the Mamelukes and began a series of reforms. He created an army and a fleet, and not only brought all Egypt under his sway, but established himself at Khartum where he could control the Sudan,[2] or region of the upper Nile. Before his death in 1849 he had induced the Sultan to recognize his heirs as rightful rulers of Egypt.

The Khedive Ismail I (1863–1879) becomes hopelessly involved in debt

The importance of Egypt for the western powers was greatly increased by the construction of the Suez Canal begun in 1859,[3] for both Port Said on the Mediterranean and Suez on the Red Sea are Egyptian ports. The English were able to get a foothold in Egypt through the improvidence of the Egyptian ruler, Ismail I, who came to the throne in 1863, and by reckless extravagance involved his country in a heavy debt which forced him to sell a block of his canal shares to the British government at a low price. The sacrifice of these canal shares

[1] For recent events see below, p. 531.

[2] The term Sudan (see map) was applied by the Mohammedans to the whole region south of the Sahara Desert, but as now used it commonly means Anglo-Egyptian Sudan only.

[3] See above, p. 468.

brought no appreciable relief, and Ismail's creditors in England and France prevailed upon their governments to interfere in their behalf. This foreign intervention aroused discontent in Egypt, and the natives revolted in 1882, demanding "Egypt for the Egyptians." Inasmuch as France declined to join in suppressing the rebellion, England undertook it alone, and after putting down the uprising assumed a temporary occupation of the country and the supervision of the army and finances of Egypt. Since the rebellion of 1882 the British have continued their "temporary" occupation, which amounts practically to the government of the country.

The Mahdi and the death of Gordon

Shortly after the British conquest of Egypt, trouble arose in the Sudan, where a revolt against the Khedive's [1] government was organized under the leadership of Mohammed Ahmed, who claimed to be the Messiah, and found great numbers of fanatical followers who called him El Mahdi, "the leader." [2] General Gordon was in charge of the British garrison at Khartum. Here he was besieged by the followers of the Mahdi in 1885, and after a memorable defense fell a victim to their fury, thus adding a tragic page to the military history of the British empire. This disaster was avenged twelve years later, when in 1897–1898 the Sudan was reconquered and the city of Khartum was taken by the British under General Kitchener.

Results of the English occupation of Egypt

During the occupation of Egypt by the English the progress of the country has been unquestioned; industry and commerce are growing steadily, public works have been constructed, and financial order has been reëstablished under the supervision of the English agent, whose word is law. There is no reason to think that the present protectorate will not last indefinitely, and it may sometime be transformed into the avowed annexation of Egypt by Great Britain.

In striking contrast to the other powers of Europe — Great Britain, France, Germany, and even Italy — stands Spain, who

[1] This title was assumed by the ruler of Egypt with the consent of the Sultan.

[2] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 456 *sqq*.

Decline of Spain as a colonial power

could once boast that the sun never set on her empire. After losing her colonies on the American continents she made no compensating gains in other parts of the world, and at the close of the nineteenth century received the final blow in a war with the United States.

The Spanish-American War, 1898

The cause of this war was the chronic disturbance which existed in Cuba under Spanish government and which led the United States to decide upon the expulsion of Spain from the western hemisphere. In 1895 the last of many Cuban insurrections against Spain broke out, and sympathy was immediately manifested in the United States. Both political parties during the presidential campaign of 1896 declared in favor of the Cubans, and with the inauguration of McKinley a policy of intervention was adopted. The American government demanded the recall of General Weyler — whose cruelty had become notorious — and a reform in the treatment of prisoners of war. In February, 1898, the battle ship *Maine* was mysteriously blown up in the harbor of Havana, where it had been sent in American interests. Although the cause of this disaster could not be discovered, the United States, maintaining that the conditions in Cuba were intolerable, declared war on Spain in April.

Spain loses her remaining colonies

The war was brief, for the American forces were everywhere victorious. Cuba and Porto Rico were lost to Spain, and by the capture of the city of Manila in May, the Philippine Islands also fell to the United States. Peace was reëstablished in August, and representatives were shortly sent to Paris to arrange the final terms. Cuba was declared independent; Porto Rico, with the adjoining islands of Vieques and Culebra, and the Philippines were ceded to the United States.[1] The following year the Caroline and Pelew islands were transferred to Germany, and thus the territory of Spain was reduced to the Spanish peninsula, the Balearic and Canary islands, and her small holdings in Africa.

[1] Spain also ceded to the United States the island of Guam in the Ladrone Archipelago.

THE GREATEST GENERAL OF ALL

Influences favoring Universal Peace

Necessity of great armies and navies

88. In winning and holding world-wide empires the countries of Europe have been compelled to maintain large military and naval forces in addition to those necessary for actual national defense. Colonies and protectorates inhabited by subject races require the presence of European soldiers, and the protection of merchant vessels on the high seas and in foreign ports demands large navies. Consequently imperial ambitions and patriotic pride have led to a steady increase in the armies and navies of Europe.

Enhanced cost of military establishments due to new inventions

The cost of maintaining these enormous military establishments is greatly enhanced by the continued invention of new and ever more formidable instruments of destruction, which speedily render old equipment obsolete and compel every country to keep abreast of the nation most advanced in the science of warfare. The old flintlock rifle loaded at the muzzle gave way to the minie rifle charged with a cartridge and fired by a percussion cap; the minie rifle was in turn supplanted by the breechloader; then came the rapid-fire repeating rifle, with a range of a mile. The ancient muzzle-loading cannon, with its short and uncertain range, has been gradually improved, and in its place we now have the enormous breech-loading Krupp guns, carrying balls weighing five hundred pounds for ten miles or more with wonderful accuracy. New explosives of terrible power — nitroglycerin, melinite, and lyddite — make gunpowder seem like a child's plaything; and smokeless powder, by keeping the field clear, makes range finding more deadly than ever. Moreover new instruments, such as the war balloon, armored trains, automobiles, wireless telegraphy, and search lights, greatly facilitate military operations.

Revolution in marine warfare

Sea fighting has undergone a revolution no less complete and rapid. Within fifty years the wooden man of war has disappeared before armored vessels, which are rapidly developing in speed, tonnage, and fighting capacity. Even the battle ship of fifteen years ago is giving way before vessels of the *Dreadnought* type.

The ineffectiveness of the ordinary cannon against the steel battle ship has led to the use of torpedoes of terrible explosive power, and these in turn to the invention of torpedo destroyers. The new and dangerous factor of the submarine mine has been added, while the submarine vessel may soon considerably modify the present mode of naval warfare. And the aëroplane promises a complete revolution in war on land.

Huge modern standing armies

Indeed, there seems to be no end to the rivalry of nations in the invention of costly instruments of war. Millions and billions have been expended in ships and guns which have become obsolete without ever being brought into action. France to-day, in time of peace, has an army of over seven hundred thousand men and spends over two hundred million dollars annually for war purposes, — an establishment which rivals that maintained by Napoleon when at war with all Europe. Germany also supports a standing army of over six hundred thousand men. England spends over three hundred and fifty million dollars a year for the army and navy — more than twice as much as for education.

How the preparations for war may favor peace

Nevertheless, it may be said that this marvelous military development has contributed something to the movement toward peace in Europe. The enormous number of men that would speedily be called into action and hurried to the front in express trains, the countless millions that a general European war with these costly instruments would involve, the terrible loss of life and property that it would bring — all this has tended to make statesmen shrink from risking the possibilities of war. Moreover the cost of maintaining armies on even a peace footing is so great, the strong protest of workingmen and socialists against warfare — anti-militarism as it is called — is so determined, the financial interests involved are so influential, and the effects of international conflicts on industry and trade are so disastrous, that a movement for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the reduction of armaments has developed in every civilized nation.

The Tsar calls a peace conference in 1898

For centuries humanitarians have protested against war and the cost of military establishments. William Penn drew up a scheme "For the establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament or Estates"; and the French philosophers of the eighteenth century made eloquent pleas for universal peace. But it was left to the present Tsar, Nicholas II, to propose in 1898 a great conference of the powers at The Hague to discuss the subject of reducing the excessive armaments.[1] Unlike the Congress of Vienna or Berlin, this Peace Conference of 1899 did not meet to bring a war to a close; it came together in a time of European peace to consider how the existing peace might be maintained and military expenditures reduced.

The results of the first Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899

Disarmament

Mediation

Commissions of Inquiry

The Hague Conference did nothing, however, toward diminishing the armaments of the powers beyond expressing an opinion that a restriction of the present military burden was extremely desirable, and recommending the nations to "examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea." The powers, however, agreed to recognize the right of any nation to offer its services to countries at war with one another for the purpose of mediation. They further recommended parties unable to come to agreement by negotiation to submit matters "involving neither honor nor vital interests" to the investigation of an impartial International Commission of Inquiry, to be constituted for each case by an arrangement between the parties to the controversy.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration

Finally, the powers agreed upon the establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration to which disputants could submit issues on which they were at variance. This great court consists of persons (not more than four from each country) selected by the respective nations from among their citizens "of recognized competence in international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators." From this long list of eminent personages any powers engaged

[1] For the Tsar's rescript calling the conference, see *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 463 *sqq*.

in a controversy may choose a number to form a tribunal for their special case. The close of the first Hague Conference was shortly followed by a large number of treaties between the powers of the world, agreeing to submit to arbitration all questions "which affect neither the national independence nor honor," but it was generally admitted that the conference had done little or nothing toward providing a way to settle those vital issues which actually give rise to great wars.

The second Hague Conference, 1907

Nevertheless, the outcome of the experiment encouraged the friends of international peace to believe that more practical agreements might be reached which would mitigate, if not prevent, the evils of war. Accordingly, in 1904, President Roosevelt proposed a second conference, but yielded the honor of issuing the call to Nicholas II, who the following year again sent invitations to over fifty nations to participate in the consideration of certain important questions, including the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the regulation of warfare on land and sea. The conference opened at The Hague on June 15, 1907, with the representatives of forty-seven states in attendance, and adjourned on October 18.[1] The proposal of the United States for a permanent international court to which certain matters must be referred was defeated. The pressing question of disarmament was dismissed by a resolution declaring "It is highly desirable that the governments should resume the serious study of the question of limiting armaments." In fact, the conference confined its attention to drawing up treaties regulating the actual conduct of war, the laying of submarine mines, the treatment of prisoners, the bombardment of towns, and the rights of neutrals in time of war. In other words, no steps were taken to reduce military and naval expenses or to advance compulsory arbitration, but a serious effort was made to obtain more general agreement on the rules of war itself.

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 465 *sq.*

REFERENCES

Development of the Modern Railway System: THURSTON, *A History of the Growth of the Steam Engine*, pp. 144–220.

Development of Steam Navigation: THURSTON, pp. 221–302.

The Commercial Basis of Imperialism: Extract from HOBSON, *Imperialism*, in BEARD, *Introduction to the English Historians*, pp. 623–636; REINSCH, *World Politics*, pp. 3–80.

The Opening of China: DOUGLAS, *Europe and the Far East*, pp. 41–90; REINSCH, pp. 85–195; HAZEN, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 682–687.

Development of Chinese Industries: DOUGLAS, pp. 256–284.

The Opening of Japan: DOUGLAS, pp. 144–168; HAZEN, pp. 687–695.

The Revolution in Japan: DOUGLAS, pp. 169–209.

The Chino-Japanese War and Intervention by the Powers: DOUGLAS, pp. 304–322; HAZEN, pp. 695–699.

The Boxer Movement in China and its Repression: DOUGLAS, pp. 323–360.

Causes of the Russo-Japanese Conflict: DOUGLAS, pp. 409–424; ASAKAWA, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict*, pp. 1–64; HAZEN, pp. 699–705.

Britain in Egypt and the Sudan: ROSE, *The Development of the European Nations*, Vol. II, pp. 143–227.

The Partition of Africa: ROSE, Vol. II, pp. 228–268; HAZEN, pp. 550–554.

The Congo Free State: ROSE, Vol. II, pp. 269–298; HAZEN, pp. 554–557.

Egypt: HAZEN, pp. 557–563.

International Arbitration: FOSTER, *Arbitration and the Hague Court*.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LAST DECADE OF EUROPEAN POLITICS

Political Reforms

A general survey

89. The opening years of the twentieth century have witnessed a steady increase in popular control over the aristocratic and royal branches of Old-World governments. The House of Lords in England has been forced to admit that the final word in lawmaking rests with the House of Commons; the monarchy has been overthrown in Portugal; some steps have been taken in Germany toward the establishment of ministerial responsibility; Turkey has a constitution and a parliament; Persia has experimented with representative government; China having overturned the imperial administration has founded a republic.

These political changes have been accompanied by an increasing interest in international peace and social reform. The tremendous burdens of maintaining standing armies and building huge navies are no longer borne in silence by taxpayers and workingmen. The improvement of the condition of the people is the watchword of European ministries. Socialistic parties grow with astounding rapidity, and socialistic ideas are no longer confined to a small and discontented minority.

England long conservative

At the close of the nineteenth century England was, to all appearances, as conservative as any nation in western Europe. The enthusiasm for the extension of the suffrage and for the reform of ancient abuses, which had stirred the country for a hundred years, seemed to have died away. Contentment with the existing order, and interest in great imperial enterprises in South Africa and other parts of the world, characterized English

politics. From 1886 to 1906 (except for a short period in 1892–1895) the Conservative party was in control of the House of Commons and the government. Liberalism appeared to be dead, and the agitation of the socialists apparently made no impression on the workingmen.

Growth of socialist parties in England

Socialistic parties had developed in Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Russia, and elsewhere, and were playing a very active part in political campaigns; but in England the workingmen showed no signs of deserting the old parties in large numbers and establishing a party of their own. In 1883 the Social Democratic Federation had been formed to promote the teachings of Marx, but in spite of its activities it only secured a small number of members. In 1893 there came into existence, under the leadership of Keir Hardie, a more moderate socialistic body, known as the Independent Labor party. Its adherents rejected Marx's notion of an inevitable class conflict, but its growth was exceedingly slow at first.

The Fabian Society

The well-known Fabian Society,[1] of which Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, and H. G. Wells have been distinguished members, originated in the early eighties for the purpose of spreading socialist doctrines. The Fabians rejected many of the doctrines of Marx, but at the same time they advocated the municipal or national ownership of land and industrial capital. They did not form a political party, but hoped to bring about better conditions by writing and lecturing, thus leading people to realize the possibility of reform.

The Labor party in Parliament

At length, in 1901, a Labor Representation Committee was formed in order to secure the united action of the many trade unions and the Independent Labor party. In 1905 this committee pledged itself to work for the chief objects of socialism. When a general election to Parliament occurred in 1906 it was ready to carry on a determined campaign, and the committee, with the aid of the Social Democrats and the

[1] So called from the policy of the Roman dictator Fabius, "who gained his end by going slowly," — *qui cunctando restituit rem.*

Independent Labor party, succeeded in returning no less than fifty labor representatives to the House of Commons. Several of these were avowed socialists.

A new period opened in 1906

When at the same election the Liberal party was restored to power, a new epoch of reform activity opened. That party soon carried through Parliament a workingmen's compensation act and other labor laws, and gave the Conservatives to understand that these measures were only an installment of a long programme of new legislation.

The House of Lords blocks reform

The latter, intrenched in the House of Lords, where they had a large majority, began to take up arms against measures which were, in their opinion, nothing short of revolutionary. In December, 1906, the Lords mutilated the education bill which Commons had passed, and a few days later they threw out a plural-voting bill abolishing the ancient practice of allowing a man to vote in all counties in which he had the requisite property to entitle him to the ballot. Early in the following year the two houses of Parliament began to discuss their grievances against each other, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the prime minister, took advantage of the occasion to warn the peers that the British constitution rested on a representative basis.

The "revolutionary" budget of 1909

The real clash between the Lords and Commons came in 1909 over the budget — that is, over the taxes which the Liberals proposed to lay and the expenses they proposed to incur. In April of that year, Mr. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer (who had succeeded Mr. Asquith when the latter became prime minister on the death of Campbell-Bannerman in 1908), laid before the House of Commons a scheme of taxation which stirred up a veritable hornets' nest. He proposed a high tax on automobiles, a heavy income tax with a special additional tax on incomes over £5000, — heavier on unearned than on earned incomes, — and an inheritance tax on a new scale, varying in weight according to the amount of the inheritance up to fifteen per cent on estates over £1,000,000. He also proposed a new land tax distinguishing sharply between landowners who

LLOYD GEORGE

actually worked their lands and the owners of mineral lands and city lots who exacted royalties and made large profits from growth in land values. The budget also included a twenty per cent tax on unearned increment on land, payable on its sale or transfer, so that anyone who sold property at a profit would have to pay a good share of the gain to the public treasury. The chancellor also proposed a special tax on undeveloped and on mineral lands.

A budget for war on poverty

These special taxes, in addition to the other taxes, made a heavy budget; but the chancellor defended it on the ground that it was a war budget for "waging implacable war against poverty." He concluded his opening speech in defense of his policy by expressing the hope "that great advance will be made during this generation toward the time when poverty with its wretchedness and squalor will be as remote from the people of this country as the wolves which once infested the forests."

The Conservatives attack the budget

The budget was at once hotly attacked by the Conservatives as socialistic and revolutionary. They claimed that the distinction between "earned" and "unearned" incomes was an unwarranted and invidious attack on the rights of property. "If a man," asked one, "is to be more heavily taxed on an income that he has not earned than on an earned income, on the ground that he does not have the same absolute right to both incomes, why may not the government advance step by step until it takes away all unearned incomes on the theory that their possessors have no right to them at all?" Some of the more conservative defenders of the budget shrank from answering this question, and contented themselves by replying that it was a matter of degree, not of fundamental principles. Other supporters of the budget frankly declared that a man's right to his property depended upon the way in which he got it.

A new question in taxation

Speaking on this point, Mr. Winston Churchill said: "Formerly the question of the taxgatherer was, 'How much have you got?' . . . Now a new question has arisen. We do not only ask to-day, 'How much have you got?' we also ask 'How did

you get it? Did you earn it by yourself, or has it been left to you by others? Was it gained by processes which are in themselves beneficial to the community in general, or was it gained by processes which have done no good to anyone, but only harm? Was it gained by the enterprise and capacity necessary to found a business, or merely by squeezing and bleeding the owner and founder of the business? Was it gained by supplying the capital which industry needs, or by denying, except at extortionate price, the land which industry requires? Was it derived by active reproductive processes, or merely by squatting on some piece of necessary land till enterprise and labor, national interests and municipal interests, had to buy you out at fifty times the agricultural value? Was it gained by opening new minerals to the service of man, or by drawing a mining royalty from the toil and adventure of others? . . . How did you get it?' That is the new question which has been postulated, and which is vibrating in penetrating repetition through the land." The arguments in favor of the budget convinced the House of Commons, and it was carried by a handsome majority.

The Lords reject the budget

The debate on the budget began in the House of Lords on November 23, 1909, and it was at once claimed that the upper house had the constitutional right to reject money bills passed by Commons in spite of some precedents to the contrary. After a few days of debate the Lords defeated the budget by a vote of 350 to 75.

The Commons protest

The Liberals immediately took up the gauge thus thrown down. On December 2, Mr. Asquith moved in the House of Commons a resolution "That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by the House for the services of the year is a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons." This resolution was carried by a vote of 349 to 134, showing that there was little hope for a compromise on the issue. The following day Parliament was prorogued and an approaching dissolution was announced.

The election campaign which followed (December 1909–January 1910) was unusually bitter, being marked by open violence in some places. The Socialists, Radicals, and Irish demanded the speedy abolition of the House of Lords, but the moderate Liberals were content with proposals for reforming and abridging the power of that ancient body. The campaign which closed on January 28 gave the Liberals a majority, although they lost almost one hundred seats. Their majority was so small, however, that for working purposes they had to cultivate friendly relations with the Labor and Irish members.

The campaign for the election of January, 1910

In fact, neither party was entirely satisfied with the outcome of the election, but the Conservatives conceded that some reform of the House of Lords was inevitable. At the opening of the new Parliament in February, 1910, Mr. Asquith stated that the defeated budget would be brought up again, and that some changes in the House of Lords would be proposed. In case of a defeat, he warned the House, another appeal would be made to the voters at a general election. The Lords at length yielded on the budget and in April, 1910, agreed to its passage.

The Liberals, however, continued their war on "the Lords' veto," and in Parliament and outside, the issue was hotly discussed. In the midst of this constitutional crisis, King Edward VII died (May 6, 1910), and a sort of truce was made between the leaders. This was followed by conferences between the representatives of the Liberals and Conservatives, at which attempts were made to arrive at a compromise. These efforts failed, and at the opening of Parliament in November it was found that the deadlock was as fast as ever. Thereupon the Liberals dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country in a new election that closed on December 19, 1910. The result of this campaign was as unsatisfactory as that of the preceding January, for the Liberals only made slight gains in spite of a hard fight.

The election (December, 1910) on the House of Lords' issue

Shortly after the opening of the new Parliament in February, 1911, a bill designed to check the exercise of the "veto"

The House of Lords conquered

power by the Lords was introduced in Commons and passed by a good round majority. The measure was then sent to the House of Lords, and Mr. Asquith announced that he had received the consent of King George V to create enough new peers to insure its passage in case the Conservative opponents were able to defeat it. Thus intimidated, the upper house, on August 18, 1911, passed the Parliament Act, or the Lords' Veto Bill as it was called, the leading provisions of which follow.

The Lords' Veto Bill

If any money bill — that is, a bill relative to raising taxes and making appropriations — is passed by Commons and sent up to the Lords at least one month before the end of a session, and is not passed by the Lords within one month without amendment, the bill may be presented to the king for his signature and, on being approved, becomes a law notwithstanding the fact that the Lords have not consented to it. Any public bill (other than a money bill, or a bill changing the provision for a maximum term of five years for a parliament), passed by the House of Commons at three successive sessions and rejected by the Lords at each of the three sessions, may be presented to the king and, on receiving his approval, will become a law without the consent of the Lords — provided that two years have elapsed between the date of the second reading of the bill in the Commons in the first of those sessions and the date on which it passes the Commons in the third of those sessions. The veto bill also fixed five years instead of seven years as the time which any parliament may last. That is, under the law of August 18, a new parliamentary election must be held at least every five years, although of course a dissolution may be ordered at any time by the cabinet.[1]

The question of ministerial responsibility in Germany

While the Liberal government in England was busy asserting the rights of the House of Commons against the House of Lords, noteworthy attempts were being made in the German Reichstag to force the imperial chancellor to recognize

[1] Provision was also made in 1911 to pay members of the House of Commons £400 a year.

his responsibility to the popular representatives rather than to the emperor who appoints him. As we have already seen,[1] the principle that the chief minister, the chancellor, should resign on finding a majority against him in the Reichstag was not accepted in Germany by Bismarck and the makers of the German constitution. In 1908 and 1909 two events occurred which showed that, however absolute the Kaiser might regard his control over the chancellor, he could not in fact ignore the attitude of the parties in the Reichstag toward his representative.

The *Daily Telegraph* affair

In October, 1908, the London *Daily Telegraph* published what purported to be an interview with the emperor, in which he was quoted as saying that it "was one of his dearest wishes to live on the best of terms with England, although the prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes of his own people was not favorable to England." This and other statements attributed to the Kaiser stirred up ill feeling all over Europe, and everyone was astounded to find that the article in question had been sent to the German foreign office for approval and had been carelessly sanctioned by subordinates, initialed by the Chancellor von Bülow, and sent to the Kaiser.

The chancellor resigns in response to public criticism

This revelation of official incompetence and imperial intermeddling in foreign affairs profoundly moved the German people, and the chancellor was called upon in the Reichstag to answer for his conduct by various party leaders, many of whom definitely demanded the establishment of ministerial responsibility. Prince Bülow at once sent in his resignation but the Kaiser refused to accept it, leaving to him the thankless task of explaining the emperor's indiscretion and his own carelessness. At the close of his defense, von Bülow substantially promised the Reichstag that the emperor would abstain from such political utterances in the future, and added that only on such an understanding as to imperial practices could any

[1] See above, p. 342.

minister continue in office. This statement was afterwards officially approved by the Kaiser, and the incident closed with a decided gain in the movement to subject the monarch to a sense of responsibility to the legislature.

The chancellor, defeated in the Reichstag, resigns

The second event which revealed still more clearly the dependence of the chancellor upon parliamentary support occurred in 1909 in connection with the plans of Prince Bülow for increasing imperial revenues by extending the system of inheritance taxes to some classes previously exempt. The proposal was obnoxious to the Conservatives who joined with the Center, or Catholic, party and thus were able to defeat the chancellor's measure. Von Bülow at once resigned, but the emperor persuaded him to remain in office long enough to secure a temporary adjustment of the budget. Shortly afterward, in July, 1909, the chancellor gave up his office and retired. In explaining his conduct, he said: "Of course, no party can overthrow a minister. The appointment as well as the dismissal of a minister depends constitutionally and entirely upon the crown. There can arise, however, situations in which a minister who has convictions and takes them seriously cannot remain in office. That such a situation could arise for me I showed the Conservatives at the proper time, in the Reichstag and privately, openly and honorably, and in a way that left no doubt. In fact, no doubt as to this has existed in the minds of the Conservatives. They were entirely aware of the character of my warnings. They knew that their tactics must force me to resign. Yet they took no account of my warnings; they consciously created a situation in which I could not remain."

The sentiment in favor of popular government grows

In short, the chancellor is not dependent upon the Reichstag, but he cannot remain in office if he does not have the proper support there. Of course, this does not mean that ministerial government has been attained in Germany, but it seems that events are rapidly tending in that direction. Moreover the socialists have been making an open fight in the Reichstag to secure a constitutional amendment making the executive

department subservient to the legislative branch of the imperial government. The heavy gains made by the socialists in the election in January, 1912 — from 3,251,009 to 4,250,300 votes — and the increase of their membership in the Reichstag from 43 to 110 also indicates that the element of absolutism in the German government is a diminishing force. In general, the results of that election were favorable to the radicals and progressives, as the votes for the more important parties show.[1]

Discontent with the monarchy in Portugal

The popular movements in England and Germany were not accompanied by much criticism of the idea of a limited monarchy; and, in fact, at the opening of the new century it looked as if republican agitation against royalty as such had entirely disappeared in Europe. In Portugal, however, the attempt of the king to establish a dictatorship and squander the revenues without accountability raised up a party determined upon his overthrow, and on February 1, 1908, King Carlos and the Crown Prince, while riding in the streets of Lisbon, were assassinated. The late king's eighteen-year-old son was at once proclaimed as Manuel II, but he found that he had received a troublesome heritage. The little realm was disturbed by party dissensions; finances were in a bad way; workingmen were discontented; the radicals were waging war against the cleygy and the monks; and the republicans daily gained in strength in spite of the promises of reform made by the young ruler.

In the elections of August, 1910, the republicans elected ten members of Parliament from Lisbon, and early in October a

[1] The Chief Parties and the Vote in the German Elections (1912)

	Votes	Members
Socialists	4,250,300	110
National Liberals	1,672,600	45
Radicals	1,528,900	41
Conservatives	1,499,700	57
Center (Catholic)	2,035,300	93

The establishment of the Portuguese Republic, 1910

revolt broke out at the capital. After some serious street fighting and the bombardment of the royal palace, the king fled to England, protesting that his hasty flight did not mean abdication. The republicans at once set up a provisional government and began the expulsion of the monks and nuns and the confiscation of their property. In May, 1911, elections were held for a constitutional convention which met in June. This convention drafted a constitution providing for a legislative body of two chambers, one elected directly by universal manhood suffrage and the other indirectly by the municipalities; for a president to be elected for four years by the legislature; and for a ministry responsible to Parliament.

Troublesome times for the new republic

The government under the new constitution was set up in August and September, 1911, and began the difficult task of conciliating the factions which the revolution had left behind. The Catholic priests and bishops were offered pensions but they declined to receive them, demanding the same privileges which their church enjoyed in the United States. On May 1 the Pope issued an encyclical condemning the anticlerical measures of the republic, and the republic replied by confiscating the government securities held by the clergy to the amount of $25,000,000. The finances of the government are in critical shape; there is a profound unrest among the workingmen of the industrial centers; but the young republic seems to be gaining in stability in spite of the continued efforts of the monarchists to overturn it.

The constitutional revolution in Turkey (1908)

The unrest which had been stirring western Europe for more than a hundred years — which had made Metternich and Wellington tremble for the safety of the throne and altar — reached Turkey in the opening days of the new century. For some time, the Young Turk party had been busy spreading ideas of parliamentary government and national independence from foreign tutelage. Early in the year 1908 a Committee of Union and Progress, composed largely of army officers, was formed at Salonika, and soon enlisted support among the soldiers and the

people. In July, 1908, a revolt broke out, and the Saloñika Committee proclaimed a constitution, at the same time announcing its intention to march upon Constantinople if the Sultan did not come to terms. The Sultan at once yielded and restored the constitution which he had granted in 1876 and then suspended in 1878. One or two of his notorious advisers were assassinated, but, on the whole, the revolution was comparatively peaceful. In October and November, the elections to the new Parliament were held, and in December, 1908, the Sultan opened the assembly with great pomp.

The deposition of the Sultan

The new government very soon found its hands full. There were disorders in various parts of the empire, particularly in Macedonia. On October 5, 1908, Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria declared his country forever independent of Turkey. At the same time the Emperor Francis Joseph formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been under Austro-Hungarian suzerainty since the settlement of 1878. To cap the climax, the Conservatives and opponents of the constitution stirred up a revolt in Constantinople in which several soldiers and civilians were killed. The aged Sultan Abdul Hamid was thought to have aided, or at all events to have sympathized with, the reaction; and both houses of the Turkish Parliament, sitting as a national assembly, voted on April, 1909, to depose him and proclaim his brother Sultan under the title of Mohammed V.

Discontent with the results of the revolution

The new Sultan's reign, auspiciously begun, has been full of troubles. Revolts and quarrels in all parts of the patchwork empire have been almost constant. The members of his cabinet have been regularly at loggerheads, and the government is beset with all the financial and political difficulties which accompany a revolutionary change in an old and corrupt form of government. In the midst of these domestic difficulties came a war with Italy, which gave the reactionary party an opportunity to denounce the Sultan and his advisers for having brought about the dismemberment of the empire. It remains to be seen whether a parliamentary government can really be maintained

for peoples so diverse in race and religion as those comprising the present Turkish Empire.[1]

The advisers of the emperor of China forced to grant a constitution in 1911

More astounding than the revolution in Turkey has been the establishment of a republic in China. As we have noted,[2] the Dowager Empress in the autumn of 1906 issued a decree announcing that a constitution would be granted at an early date, "solely dependent upon the progress of the people in education." That progress was amazingly rapid, for the advocates of popular government began to urge immediate action on the part of the government and soon forced it to fix the date of the new system at 1913. Meanwhile a national council, consisting of representatives of certain privileged classes and the provinces, met in October, 1911, and it speedily came into collision with the throne and the imperial advisers. About the same time revolutionary outbreaks occurred at many points, particularly in southern and central China. The government troops were overcome in city after city, — though not without desperate and bloody fighting, — and the national assembly finally forced the imperial administration to grant a liberal constitution and guarantee the election of a parliament with full power.

The establishment of the Chinese Republic

The radicals grew bolder. During the closing days of December a provisional republican assembly at Nanking proclaimed a republic and elected Dr. Sun Yat Sen president. Seeing that resistance was futile, the advisers of the boy emperor[3] announced his abdication (February, 1912). At the same time the revolutionists drew together and chose as provisional president Yuan Shih-K'ai, who had just previously been dictator under the emperor and enjoyed the confidence of a large portion of the army.

[1] Even Persia has recently had a revolution. Previous to 1906 it was an absolute monarchy, but in that year the Shah, moved by revolutionary agitation, promised a national council, which met in the autumn. In the next year a new constitution was drawn up, and the attempt of the Shah to block the reforms led to his flight and abdication (1909). His son, a little boy, was then proclaimed, but, owing to the general disorder in the realm at the opening of 1912, there was little prospect for a really stable constitutional government. [2] See above, p. 487.

[3] The little emperor, P'u Yi, the last of the Manchu dynasty, was born in 1906, and after the death of the Dowager Empress in 1909 was under the care of a regent.

Conservative reaction in Russia

Only in Russia has the movement for a more democratic government received a serious check during the last few years. The struggle against the autocracy carried on with such bitterness and sacrifice of life during the years 1904–1907,[1] has died down into a scarcely audible protest. The third Duma, which the Tsar had made very much to his own liking by excluding from the elections practically every one except conservative property owners, has proved so tractable that no new election has been called since 1907. It has been busy chiefly with making large appropriations for naval and military expenditures designed to put the army and navy on a sound footing again after the disasters suffered in the war with Japan. There seems to be no indication that the "gradual establishment of representative government" which the calling of the Duma promised will be realized. Indeed, revolutionary fever seems to have disappeared as completely as it did more than thirty years ago after the death of Alexander III. The only political assassination which has occurred recently was the murder of the Premier Stolypin in September, 1911. The successor of the dead minister, however, announced a practical continuation of the former policy of the government.

The awakening of women

In the midst of the general political movement which has been extending the suffrage to men and widening the control of the voters over the government, women have not been indifferent spectators. Indeed, it would have been impossible for them to escape the general awakening of the common people, which has been one of the most striking features of the past hundred years; for the Industrial Revolution and education have changed the life and labor of women as well as of men.

Former subjugation of women

The first French constitution, which had so much to say of the rights of man, said nothing of the rights of woman. In the eighteenth century she was still regarded in the eyes of the law as in every way inferior to man. Nature had destined her to the bearing and the care of children, and to the conduct of the

[1] See above, pp. 445 *sqq.*

household. In England, down to the year 1870, the law fulfilled to the letter the command of the apostle Peter, "Ye wives, be in subjection to your husbands." A married woman could enjoy no property rights; her personal possessions — clothes, jewels, and the like — belonged to her husband; and her lands were administered by him. Indeed, a wife was, in a sense, her husband's serf; she could not make a valid contract, she could not sue or be sued, her husband could lawfully beat her for disobedience, and if she injured another person or his property, her husband was held for damages, just as if his ox had escaped and committed a depredation. In other countries the conditions were similar.

Rights granted to women during the nineteenth century

It was left for the nineteenth century gradually to free women from a great part of these disabilities, so that they may now make contracts, hold property, and engage in business on their own account. The Industrial Revolution, by opening up new employments to them, has given them a certain kind of independence of man which they never before enjoyed. They now often hold public positions, such as those of sanitary officers, factory inspectors, government clerks, and especially teachers. During the last twenty-five years the universities of Switzerland, Germany, and France have been gradually opened to women as well as to men, while special colleges and technical schools established for their particular benefit are becoming more and more common. It is this change of course which is leading to the gradual granting to women of the right to vote.

Steady extension of the suffrage to women

As early as 1870 the women of England were given the right to vote for members of the newly created school boards, and in 1888 and 1894 they were admitted to the franchise in certain local government matters. In 1893 women were enfranchised in New Zealand and a year later in South Australia. Shortly after the establishment of the new Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 full parliamentary suffrage was granted to women. In 1906 the women of Finland, and

in 1907 and 1912 the women of Norway and Sweden respectively, were given the vote on the same terms as men.

The beginning of the militant suffragist movement in England

A new and striking interest was given to the whole subject of woman suffrage, however, in 1905, when some of the leaders among the English women, particularly Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters, abandoned their peaceful methods of agitation and resorted to demonstrations of violence, which they knew had been so effective in the movement for manhood suffrage. These tactics were begun by Miss Christobel Pankhurst in defending a working girl who was being roughly treated by the police for an attempt to ask questions at a political meeting — a privilege which had been fully accorded to men. In the winter of 1907–1908, the women suffragists organized demonstrations before the houses of cabinet officers and raided the House of Commons; and many of them on being arrested, refused to pay their fines and were sent to jail.

The Woman Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons

The disorders proved effective in centering the attention of the world on the demands of the women; and at length the House of Commons, in the summer of 1910, passed the Woman Suffrage Bill on its second reading by a vote of 299 to 190, and then killed it by referring it to the committee of the whole. This measure proposed to give women the vote on the same terms as men, and as there were property qualifications for male voters, the number of women enfranchised under it would be small. Suffragists, however, regarded it as an "opening wedge," and on securing Premier Asquith's promise to give the bill a fair chance to pass, they desisted from their violent tactics.

Agitation renewed

At length, however, in December, 1911, when the prime minister announced the intention of the cabinet to introduce a straight manhood suffrage bill and give the friends of woman suffrage a chance to amend it, the suffragists resumed rioting. Some of the leaders disapprove violence and urge that it is the better part of wisdom to await the action of Parliament on the whole question of universal suffrage.

Recent Social Legislation

Social reform now the issue in England

90. We have already seen how Germany, under the leadership of Bismarck, undertook a great scheme of legislation designed to benefit the working classes.[1] It was many years, however, before the principles embodied in this legislation found any considerable support in either France or England; but during the past ten years there has been going on in these two countries, particularly the latter, a revolution in the public attitude toward labor questions and poverty. This change in English sentiment was clearly expressed by a Liberal, Mr. Winston Churchill, in a political speech at Nottingham, on January 30, 1909: "The main aspirations of the British people are at the present time social rather than political. They see around them on every side, and almost every day, spectacles of confusion and misery which they cannot reconcile with any conception of humanity or justice. They see that there are in the modern state a score of misfortunes that can happen to a man without his being at fault in any way. They see, on the other hand, the mighty power of science, backed by wealth and power, to introduce order, to provide safeguards, to prevent accidents, or at least mitigate their consequences. They know that this country is the richest in the world; and in my sincere judgment the British democracy will not give their hearts to any party that is not able and willing to set up that larger, fuller, more elaborate, more thorough social organization, without which our country and its people will inevitably sink through sorrow to disaster and our name and fame fade upon the pages of history."

Recent English labor laws

In this spirit the Liberal government began, shortly after its accession to power in 1906, a series of laws designed to mitigate, at least, if not to abolish, the evils of poverty, sweating, unemployment, and industrial accidents. The provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 were extended

[1] See above, pp. 344 *sqq.*

to agricultural laborers and domestic servants. Under this law employers in the industries covered are required to pay compensation to workmen injured in their employ, except when the accident is due to the "serious and willful misconduct of the injured workman himself." At the same time (1906) a law was passed exempting the funds of trade unions from the liability of being attached for damages caused by their officials in strikes and industrial conflicts generally. Two years later (1908) Parliament passed an act providing that, subject to certain incidental reservations, "a workman shall not be below ground in a mine for the purpose of his work and of going to and from his work, for more than eight hours during any consecutive twenty-four hours."

Booth's survey of London poverty

Measures for the benefit of trade unionists, miners, and injured workmen, however important they may be, do not solve the problem of poverty, due to low wages, uncertain employment, illness, and causes other than those which may be ascribed to individual faults. Undoubtedly poverty on a large scale has been one of the inevitable accompaniments of the Industrial Revolution, and in England the amount of depressing, hopeless poverty is enormous. Several years ago Mr. Charles Booth, a wealthy member of a steamship corporation, feeling that there was no accurate information available in regard to the condition of the working people of London, undertook a house-to-house canvass at his own expense. With a large corps of helpers he set about ascertaining the "numerical relations which poverty, misery, and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort," and in 1889 he published the first two volumes of his work entitled *The Life and Labor of the People of London*, of which sixteen volumes have now appeared. In the district of East London, embracing a population of nearly a million, he found that more than one third of the people belonged to families with incomes of a guinea (about $5.15) or less a week; that forty-two per cent of the families earned from about $5.50 to $7.50 a week; and that only about thirteen per

cent had more than $7.50 a week to live on. His studies further revealed terrible overcrowding in squalid tenements which were badly lighted, poorly equipped with water and sanitary arrangements, and reeking with disease. He reached the startling conclusion that throughout the vast city of London nearly one third of the people were in poverty; that is, lived on wages too low to provide the necessaries for a decent physical existence, to say nothing of comforts or luxuries.

Indications that the poverty in London is not exceptional

It might at first sight seem that the poverty of London is exceptionally great, but Mr. Rowntree, in an equally careful survey, has proved that in the city of York, with its population of less than eighty thousand inhabitants, toward one third of the people are also, as in London, in dire poverty.[1] He has shown, too, that the physical development of the children, the prevalence of disease, and the death rate corresponded with the rate of wages; in short, that health, happiness, and well-being increased as wages increased. There is reason to believe that conditions are essentially the same in many other English towns as well as on the Continent, although this has not as yet been demonstrated by scientific investigations.

Possibility of abolishing poverty

Formerly it was generally assumed that poverty was inevitable and that little could be done to remedy it, since there was not enough wealth in any given community to make everybody comfortable; but the progress of practical inventions and of scientific discovery has roused the hope in the minds of many that if industries were reorganized in a way to avoid waste and to promote efficiency, if the idle were set to work and precautions taken to distribute the wealth in such a way that a few could not, as now, appropriate vast fortunes, there might sometime be a sufficiency for all who were willing to do their part, so that all could live in comfort and bring up their children in healthful surroundings, thus greatly reducing vice and disease. As the kindly Pope Leo XIII well said, "There can be no question that some remedy must be found, and that quickly, for the

[1] See *Readings*, Vol. II, pp. 487 *sq.*

misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on a large majority of the very poor."

The English government has made "war on poverty" a part of its official programme and has already begun some important experiments designed to lessen the terrors of the struggle for existence which is waged especially by the poor of the great manufacturing centers. On August 1, 1908, it passed an old-age pension law, the leading provisions of which follow: Any person to be a recipient of a government pension must be seventy years of age, a British subject, and in receipt of a private income of less than £31 10s. Persons disqualified for receiving pensions are, under certain restrictions, those who are in receipt of poor relief, those who have failed to work according to their ability, opportunity, and need for the benefit of themselves and those dependent upon them, those who are detained in lunatic asylums, and convicted criminals. The maximum pension allowed is 5s., or about $1.25 per week, to those having incomes not exceeding £21 4s. a year, and the minimum pension is 1s. a week for those having incomes between £28 17s. 6d. per annum and £31 10s. Between these limits the amount of the pension is graded at 4s., 3s., or 2s. a week, according to the income of the recipient.

The English government declares war on poverty

To help in reducing the large amount of unemployment, Parliament passed an act in 1909 authorizing the Board of Trade — a branch of the national administration — to establish labor exchanges throughout the country and collect information as to employers requiring working people and as to laborers seeking employment. Provisions were also made whereby the government may advance loans to laborers to pay their traveling expenses to the places where employment may be found for them by the labor exchanges.

Government employment bureaus

Parliament has sought to raise the level of wages in some industries which do not pay the employees enough to uphold a fairly decent standard of life. By an act passed in 1909,

Regulation of wages in "sweated" trades

provision is made for the establishment of trade boards in certain of the "sweated" trades, such as tailoring, machine lace-making, and box-making industries. These trade boards consist of representatives of the working people and the employers and also persons appointed by the government, and are empowered to fix minimum rates of wages for time work and general minimum rates for piece work in their respective trades. Agreements for wages lower than those fixed by the board are forbidden, and employers paying under the minimum are liable to heavy fines. The Board of Trade may extend the provision of this act "to any specified trade to which it does not at the time apply, if they are satisfied that the rate of wages prevailing in any branch of the trade is exceptionally low as compared with that in other employments, and that other circumstances of the trade are such as to render the application of this act to the trade expedient."

Churchill's defense of government interference with wages

Speaking in the House of Commons in support of this anti-sweating measure, Mr. Winston Churchill defended what might be regarded by the old-fashioned economists as an interference with "the natural law of wages." He said: "It was formerly supposed that the workings of the laws of supply and demand would in the regular and natural course of events, and by a steady progression, eliminate the evil and achieve adequate minimum standards. Modern opinion has found it necessary to refine upon these broad generalizations of the truth, and the first clear division that we make to-day in the question of wages is that between a healthy and an unhealthy condition of bargaining. . . . Where, as in what we call 'sweated trades,' you have no organization at all on either side, no parity of bargaining between employers and employed; where the good employer is continually undercut by the bad, and the bad again by the worse; where the worker whose whole livelihood depends on the trade is undercut by the worker to whom it is a second string; where the feebleness and ignorance of the workers and their isolation from each other render them an easy prey to the

tyranny of bad masters and middlemen one step above them upon the lowest rung of the ladder and themselves held in the grip of the same relentless forces — there you have not a condition of progress but of progressive degeneration. . . . We have seen from the investigations of the last twenty years, when the phenomena of sweating have been under close and scientific review, that there is no power of self-cure within the area of that evil."

National insurance against ill-health and unemployment

The most comprehensive of all the recent English social measures is the National Insurance Act of 1911, which went into effect in July, 1912. One part of this law requires the compulsory insurance of nearly all employees (except those not engaged in manual labor and enjoying an income of more than £160 a year) against ill-health of every kind. The insured persons, the employers, and the government are all contributors to the fund. Among the benefits for the insured are medical treatment and attendance, sanatorium treatment for tuberculosis, payments during sickness, disablement allowances, and the payment of 30s. to each mother on the birth of a child. A second portion of the act requires employers and employees in certain trades to contribute a small sum weekly to a fund for insurance against unemployment, and provides government assistance as well.

France follows the example of England and Germany

In 1910 France followed the example set by Germany and England and, building upon earlier laws, established a thoroughgoing system of old-age and disability pensions. The law requires all wage workers and salaried employees to be insured, and permits certain other workers to take advantage of the law if they wish. Employers and employees make equal contributions to the fund, and the government also lends its aid. The pension begins at the age of sixty-five — five years earlier than in Germany — and will normally amount to about $75 per annum for men and $60 per annum for women. Provisions are also made for those disabled through sickness or accident; and widows and orphans receive certain death benefits.

Municipal socialism in Germany

Although Germany has made no important additions to the social legislation described above,[1] German cities are forging rapidly forward in their efforts to improve the lot of city dwellers generally. A number of municipalities, like Berlin, Munich, Leipzig, and Hanover, have purchased enormous areas of land so as to gain the profit arising from the increase in value and make it easier to prevent congestion. Several cities are laid out into zones, and the building in each zone is restricted by law to stop overcrowding. Some of the more progressive towns own their street-car lines, gas works, and electric-light plants, manage theaters, operate pawn shops, build houses for workingmen, and attempt to plan their growth in such a way as to obviate the hideous and unsanitary features which are supposed to be inevitable in industrial centers.

Social reform does not check the growth of socialism

All these measures of social reform in England, Germany, and France have not succeeded in checking the growth of socialism, although many of them have been advocated by socialists for a long time. Some serious changes in socialistic policies and tactics, however, have been proposed recently, and the socialists, roughly speaking, are divided into three groups, although generally they succeed in presenting a rather solid front to the other parties at elections.

The "revisionist" wing of the Socialist party

In the first place there has been a revolt (particularly in Germany) against the doctrines of the Marxian school on the part of a "revisionist" wing of the socialists, who hold that there will be no social "revolution" at all, but merely a succession of reform measures which will gradually establish the main features of the socialist system. Although the German revisionists have not been able to carry the party with them, they constitute a very powerful body within the organization.

The "direct action" labor movement

On the other extreme, the more radical socialists have become discontented with the meager results of peaceful political agitation and are advocating "direct action" instead — that is, strikes and violent methods of bringing employers to terms, with

[1] See above, pp. 344 *sqq.*

a view ultimately of securing working-class control over industries of all kinds, with or without government intervention. For example, the English railway employees struck in August, 1911, and began rioting in the large railway centers. They were thus able to bring about the interference of the government and to make decided gains in wages. As one of the leaders put it, they were able by throwing a few bricks to make more substantial gains in their incomes than had been secured by all the laborious legislation of Parliament on their behalf in many years. In France, also, direct action has been gaining in favor, and recent labor troubles have been accompanied by a great deal of violence — "sabotage," as it is called there. The "direct actionists," or "syndicalists," as they are called in France, would organize the workingmen of all grades and crafts into one grand consolidated union for the purpose of dominating the whole field of industry by the sheer strength of their numbers and solidarity.

The "middle of the road" socialists

The rank and file of the socialists, however, repudiate the doctrines of the "moderate reformers" and the "direct actionists." They denounce the former as playing into capitalist hands, and the latter as introducing anarchistic methods. The socialist parties in nearly all European countries choose to rely on peaceful methods of agitation and expect to carry out their programme when they have secured control of their governments at the ballot boxes.

Growth of enlightenment may hasten the solution of the labor problem

Whether the mutual hostility of poor and rich will deepen in Europe and bring on a new social conflict, or whether there will be concessions on both sides resulting in gradual reform, the future alone can determine. It is clear in any case that the evils of our present organization are being more and more generally understood, and there is hope that many shocking inequalities may speedily be done away with. "Who can gauge the far-reaching influence of even the science we have, in ordering and quickening the imagination of men, in enhancing and assuring their powers? Common men feel secure in enterprises

it needed men of genius to conceive in former times. And there is a literature — for all our faults we do write more widely, deeply, disinterestedly, more freely and frankly than any set of writers ever did before — reaching incalculable masses of readers and embodying an amount of common consciousness and purpose beyond all precedent. Consider only how nowadays the problems that were once inaccessible thoughts of statesmen may be envisaged by common men!"[1]

International Affairs

The cost of preparation for war troubles European governments

91. Since the close of the Franco-German War peace has been maintained among the nations of western Europe, but they have all been transformed into armed camps in preparation for possible wars to come. The new inventions in military machinery — improvements in gun construction, the discovery of new explosives, advances in shipbuilding, and the adaptation of the aëroplane to warfare — increase more rapidly than ever the financial burden of the nations by rendering any military equipment speedily obsolete. Consequently the ministries of the various countries are at their wits' end in devising new varieties of taxes in order to meet their growing military expenditures. The cost of war itself has also increased immensely, so that each government will hesitate a long time before it precipitates an armed conflict. Indeed, several controversies, which in other days might have brought on wars, have been recently settled by peaceful negotiation.

The Balkan crisis settled peaceably

One of these troublesome affairs occurred in 1908–1909 in connection with the Turkish revolution, the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the general undoing of the settlement of the Balkan situation which had been reached at the Conference of Berlin in 1878. Some of the papers at the time clamored for armed intervention, but the whole affair passed off peaceably — no European power being willing to take the first step that might have precipitated a second Crimean War.

[1] Wells, *The Future in America*, p. 256.

France and Germany prepare for war but come to terms (1911)

The Moroccan question, which, as we have seen, the interested powers attempted to settle at Algeciras,[1] was reopened in 1911 by a controversy between France and Germany which for a few months threatened to loose the dogs of war. In the summer of that year, when France and Spain were engaged in executing the terms of the Algeciras settlement, French troops took possession of Fez. France assured Germany that the military expeditions in Morocco were only temporary and were not designed to advance French interests particularly. However, Germany did not accept the explanation and sent a gunboat to Agadir, a southern port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and hinted that German marines would remain there until France was ready to withdraw from Fez. The war spirit flamed up in both countries, and extensive military preparations were made. Mr. Asquith, prime minister of Great Britain, significantly warned Germany that English relations to France and Morocco made his country a party to any settlement of the dispute. Shortly afterward France and Germany came to terms — the former securing large rights in Morocco and the latter "colonial compensations" in the Kamerun and French Congo. The war scare thereupon disappeared.

Rumors of war between England and Germany

A third disturbing feature of recent European politics has been the persistent growth of ill-will between England and Germany. This ill-will has sprung out of the trade rivalry of the two countries. As we have pointed out,[2] Germany was industrially and commercially backward before the consolidation of 1867–1871, and then suddenly became a powerful competitor of Great Britain for colonial possessions and new markets in all parts of the world. Relatively, German trade has been increasing more rapidly than British trade, and the German navy has been greatly enlarged in order to protect the growing maritime interests of the empire. English manufacturers and merchants have begun to chafe under the competition of Germans, and belligerent English publicists insist that the German navy is not

[1] See above, p. 497.

[2] See above, p. 466.

only a menace to British supremacy on the high seas, but is constructed with ulterior designs on Great Britain. War parties in both countries have clamored for a feverish rivalry in ship construction and have made all possible capital out of the strained relations. However, there are strong peace parties in both countries, and valiant efforts are being made, officially and privately, to put a stop to the war hysteria.

The Turko-Italian War

The most recent affair of international significance has been the war between Italy and Turkey. As has been mentioned,[1] Italy, shortly after the establishment of unity, began to have territorial ambitions in Africa and actually acquired some colonies. This growth of Italian influence was from the first looked upon with distrust by the Sultan of Turkey, who began to fear for his remaining possessions in Northern Africa. Turkish opposition to the pretensions of Italy increased after the revolution of 1908, and this incensed the Italians, who declared that their merchants and citizens, in Tripoli especially, were constantly being mistreated by the Turks. In September, 1911, Italy sent an ultimatum to Turkey, enumerating her complaints against Turkish neglect and disorders, informing the Sultan that military occupation had been decided upon, and requesting him to permit this to be done peaceably, on pain of war. Turkey appealed to the powers of Europe, and on September 29, 1911, Italy proclaimed war. Tripoli was bombarded and on October 4 that city was occupied by Italian troops. The war, however, did not come to an end at once, as the Italians expected, but dragged along for many months. All Europe protested against this "high-handed" action by Italy; but Italy replied that she was merely following the example set by other countries — protecting the lives and property of her citizens by annexing a country beset by chronic disorders.

The growth of the peace movement

In the face of all these disturbing events, the movement for international peace has been growing apace. Peace societies, national and international, have been increasing in number and

[1] See above, p. 319.

in membership, and world congresses of every kind — scientific, political, and literary — are yearly multiplying. A special impetus was given to peace propaganda in December, 1910, when Mr. Carnegie transferred $10,000,000 to a board of trustees to be devoted to the spread of the doctrine of universal peace. The interest of the public in the subject is reflected in the large amount of attention given to it in the daily and periodical press. It may be truly said that the idea of world pacification has passed from the stage of theory into the field of practical politics.

Peace treaties between nations

Since the first Hague Conference more than one hundred and thirty treaties have been made between nations, pledging them to submit to arbitration all disputes which "do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the contracting parties, and do not concern the interests of third parties." Recently some nations have gone further and proposed treaties binding themselves to submit to arbitration "all questions which are in their nature justiciable in character." Treaties of this character were signed by the United States with France and with Great Britain in August, 1911, and this was hailed by the peace advocates as the most substantial gain made for years. The Senate of the United States, however, refused to ratify the treaties in this form.

Limitation of armaments and a league of peace

No temporary setback, however, can check the movement against war. As Mr. Roosevelt said at Christiania in an address acknowledging the Nobel peace prize of 1910: "Something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially naval armaments, by international agreement. . . . Granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments. . . . Finally, it would be a master stroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a league of peace, not only to keep peace among themselves, but to prevent by force, if

necessary, its being broken by others. The ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of mankind."

REFERENCES

None of the standard manuals to which reference has been made for the earlier periods deal with the topics of current history reviewed in this chapter. The important English reform statutes and extracts from the parliamentary debates on recent issues are to be found in C. H. HAYES, *British Social Politics* (In press, Ginn and Company), and are worthy of careful study. For the supplementary reading in general it will be necessary for the student to consult recent periodical literature and serial publications, such as the *Annual Register*, an English publication, which reviews the year's history throughout the world, and the *Statesman's Year-Book*, also an annual publication, which indicates the important changes made during the year in the governments of the respective countries, gives statistical information on commerce, population, army and navy, and finances, and contains from time to time valuable maps showing geographical changes. By means of these works and current newspapers and periodicals the student may trace the course of events onward from the summer of 1912.

APPENDIX I

RULERS OF THE CHIEF EUROPEAN STATES SINCE THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

One of the chief conclusions reached in these volumes is that kings have, during the nineteenth century, come to be held in ever-diminishing esteem; and it must be confessed that their names are now of relatively slight importance. Nevertheless they are often referred to in historical works, and we may atone for some seeming slights to royalty in our pages by giving a convenient list of all the rulers down to August, 1912, whose names are likely to be met with. The countries are given in alphabetical order.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (see Holy Roman Empire)

BELGIUM

Leopold I, 1831–1865
Leopold II, 1865–1909
Albert, 1909–

DENMARK (including Norway until 1814)

Frederick III, 1648–1670
Christian V, 1670–1699
Frederick IV, 1699–1730
Christian VI, 1730–1746
Frederick V, 1746–1766
Christian VII, 1766–1808
Frederick VI (regent, 1784–1808), 1808–1839
Christian VIII, 1839–1848
Frederick VII, 1848–1863
Christian IX, 1863–1906
Frederick VIII, 1906–1912
Christian X, 1912

FRANCE

Louis XIV, 1643–1715
Louis XV, 1715–1774
Louis XVI, 1774–1792
The Convention, 1792–1795
The Directory, 1795–1799
The Consulat, 1799–1804 (Napoleon as First Consul)
The First Empire, 1804–1815 (Napoleon I, Emperor of the French)

FRANCE (*continued*)

Louis XVIII, 1814–1824
Charles X, 1824–1830
Louis Philippe, 1830–1848
The Second Republic, 1848–1852
(Louis Napoleon, President)
The Second Empire, 1852–1870
(Napoleon III, Emperor of the French)
The Third Republic
Government of National Defense, 1870–1871
Adolphe Thiers, President, 1871–1873
Marshal MacMahon, 1873–1879
F. J. P. Jules Grévy, 1879–1887
F. Sadi Carnot, 1887–1894
Casimir Perier, 1894–1895
Félix Faure, 1895–1899
Émile Loubet, 1899–1906
Armand Fallières, 1906–

GERMAN EMPIRE

William I, 1871–1888
Frederick III, March–June, 1888
William II, 1888–

GREAT BRITAIN

Charles II, 1660–1685
James II, 1685–1688
William and Mary, 1689–1694
William III, 1694–1702
Anne, 1702–1714
George I, 1714–1727
George II, 1727–1760
George III, 1760–1820
George IV, 1820–1830
William IV, 1830–1837
Victoria, 1837–1901
Edward VII, 1901–1910
George V, 1910–

GREECE

Otto I, 1833–1862
George I, 1863–

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Leopold I, 1658–1705
Joseph I, 1705–1711
Charles VI, 1711–1740
(Charles VII of Bavaria, 1742–1745)
(Maria Theresa, Austro-Hungarian ruler, 1740–1780)
Francis I, 1745–1765
Joseph II, 1765–1790
Leopold II, 1790–1792

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (*continued*)

Francis II as Holy Roman Emperor, 1792–1806
As Austrian Emperor, Francis I, 1806–1835
Ferdinand I, 1835–1848
Francis Joseph, 1848–

ITALY

Victor Emmanuel II, 1849–1878
(King of Italy from 1861)
Humbert, 1878–1900
Victor Emmanuel III, 1900–

MONTENEGRO

Nicholas I, 1860–

NETHERLANDS

William I, 1815–1840
William II, 1840–1849
William III, 1849–1890
Wilhelmina, 1890–

NORWAY

Same rulers as Denmark, 1523–1814
Christian Frederick, 1814
Same rulers as Sweden, 1814–1905
Haakon VII, 1905–

POLAND

John Sobieski, 1674–1696
Frederick Augustus of Saxony, 1697–1704
Stanislas Lesczcynski, 1704–1709
Frederick Augustus of Saxony (restored), 1709–1733
Frederick Augustus II, 1734–1763
Stanislas II, 1764–1795

THE POPES

Clement IX, 1667–1669
Clement X, 1670–1676
Innocent XI, 1676–1689
Alexander VIII, 1689–1691
Innocent XII, 1691–1700
Clement XI, 1700–1721
Innocent XIII, 1721–1724
Benedict XIII, 1724–1730

THE POPES (*continued*)

Clement XII, 1730–1740
Benedict XIV, 1740–1758
Clement XIII, 1758–1769
Clement XIV, 1769–1774
Pius VI, 1775–1799
Pius VII, 1800–1823
Leo XII, 1823–1829
Pius VIII, 1829–1830
Gregory XVI, 1831–1846
Pius IX, 1846–1878
Leo XIII, 1878–1903
Pius X, 1903–

PORTUGAL (monarchy)

Alfonso VI, 1656–1683
Peter II, 1683–1706
John V, 1706–1750
Joseph Emmanuel, 1750–1777
Maria I and Peter III, 1777–1786
Maria alone, 1786–1816
John (regent, 1791–1816), 1816–1826
Peter IV (Dom Pedro), 1826
Maria II, 1826–1828
Dom Miguel, 1828–1833
Maria II (restored), 1833–1853
Peter V, 1853–1861
Luis I, 1861–1889
Dom Carlos, 1889–1908
Manuel II, 1908–1910

PORTUGAL (republic)

Manuel Arriaga, President, 1911–

PRUSSIA

Frederick William, the Great Elector, 1640–1688
Frederick III, Elector, 1688–1701
King Frederick I, 1701–1713
Frederick William I, 1713–1740
Frederick II, the Great, 1740–1786
Frederick William II, 1786–1797
Frederick William III, 1797–1840
Frederick William IV, 1840–1861
William I, 1861–1888
Frederick III, 1888
William II, 1888–

ROUMANIA

Carol I (as king), 1881–

RUSSIA

Alexis, 1645–1676
Feodor Alexievitch, 1676–1682
Ivan V and Peter the Great, 1682–1689
Peter the Great alone, 1689–1725
Catharine I, 1725–1727
Peter II, 1727–1730
Anna Ivanovna, 1730–1740
Ivan VI, 1740–1741
Elizabeth, 1741–1761
Peter III, January–July, 1762
Catharine II, 1762–1796
Paul, 1796–1801
Alexander I, 1801–1825
Nicholas I, 1825–1855
Alexander II, 1855–1881
Alexander III, 1881–1894
Nicholas II, 1894–

SERVIA

Milan (as king), 1882–1889
Alexander, 1889–1903
Peter, 1903–

SPAIN

Charles II, 1665–1700
Philip V, 1700–1746
Ferdinand VI, 1746–1759
Charles III, 1759–1788
Charles IV, 1788–1808
Ferdinand VII, 1808
Joseph Bonaparte, 1808–1813
Ferdinand VII (restored), 1813–1833
Isabella II, 1833–1868
Revolutionary Government, 1868–1870
Amadeo of Savoy, 1870–1873
Republic, 1873–1874
Alfonso XII, 1874–1885
Maria (pro tem.), 1885–1886
Alfonso XIII, 1886–

SWEDEN

Charles X, 1654–1660
Charles XI, 1660–1697
Charles XII, 1697–1718
Ulrica Eleanora, 1718–1720
Frederick I, 1720–1751
Adolphus Frederick, 1751–1771
Gustavus III, 1771–1792
Gustavus IV, 1792–1809
Charles XIII, 1809–1818
Charles (John) XIV, 1818–1844
Oscar I, 1844–1859
Charles XV, 1859–1872
Oscar II, 1872–1907
Gustavus V, 1907–

TURKEY

Mohammed IV, 1649–1687
Solyman II, 1687–1691
Achmet II, 1691–1695
Mustapha II, 1695–1703
Achmet III, 1703–1730
Mahmoud I, 1730–1754
Othman III, 1754–1757
Mustapha III, 1757–1774
Abdul Hamid I, 1774–1789
Selim III, 1789–1807
Mustapha IV, 1807–1808
Mahmoud II, 1808–1839
Abdul Medjid, 1839–1861
Abdul Aziz, 1861–1876
Amurath V (Murad), 1876
Abdul Hamid II, 1876–1909
Mohammed V, 1909–

APPENDIX II

LIST OF BOOKS[1]

ANDREWS, *Historical Development of Modern Europe* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, $2.75).

ASAKAWA, *The Russo-Japanese Conflict* (Houghton Mifflin Company, $2.00).

BAIN, *Charles XII and the Collapse of the Swedish Empire* [Heroes of the Nation Series] (G. P. Putnam's Sons, $1.50).

BEARD, *Introduction to the English Historians* (The Macmillan Company, $1.60).

BODLEY, *The Church in France* (A. Constable & Co., London).

BODLEY, *France* (The Macmillan Company, $2.50).

BRACQ, *France under the Republic* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.50).

BRIGHT, *Maria Theresa* (The Macmillan Company, 75 cents).

BURY, *Catherine II* [Foreign Statesmen Series] (The Macmillan Company, 75 cents).

Cambridge Modern History, Volume VIII [The French Revolution] (The Macmillan Company, $4.00).

Cambridge Modern History, Volume IX [Napoleon] (The Macmillan Company, $4.00).

Cambridge Modern History, Volume X [The Restoration] (The Macmillan Company, $4.00).

Cambridge Modern History, Volume XI [The Growth of Nationalities] (The Macmillan Company, $4.00).

Cambridge Modern History, Volume XII [The Latest Age] (The Macmillan Company, $4.00).

CARLYLE, *Frederick the Great.*

CESARESCO, *Cavour* [Foreign Statesmen Series] (The Macmillan Company, 75 cents).

[1] The works here enumerated are those referred to in the notes throughout this volume and a few additional books of special merit. They would form a valuable and inexpensive collection for use in a high school. The prices given are in most instances subject to a discount, often as high as twenty-five per cent.

CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England* (The Macmillan Company, $1.40).

CHEYNEY, *Short History of England* (Ginn and Company, $1.40).

COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History* (Longmans, Green, & Co., $1.50).

COUBERTIN, *The Evolution of France under the Third Republic* [Translated by Isabel F. Hapgood] (Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., $3.00).

DAWSON, *Bismarck and State Socialism* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.00).

DAWSON, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lasalle* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.00).

DAWSON, *The Evolution of Modern Germany* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $4.00).

DAY, *History of Commerce* (Longmans, Green, & Co., $2.00).

DOUGLAS, *Europe and the Far East* (The Macmillan Company, $2.00).

FOSTER, *Arbitration and the Hague Court* (Houghton Mifflin Company, $1.00).

FOURNIER, *Napoleon I* (Henry Holt and Company, $2.00).

FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe* (Henry Holt and Company, single-volume edition, $2.75).

GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, Revised Edition (Harper & Brothers, $1.20).

HART, *Formation of the Union* [Epochs of American History Series] (Longmans, Green, & Co., $1.25).

HASSALL, *Balance of Power* [European History, 1715–1789] (The Macmillan Company, $1.60).

HAYES, *British Social Politics* (Ginn and Company, in press).

HAZEN, *Europe since 1815* (Henry Holt and Company, $3.00).

HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, 2 volumes (The Macmillan Company, $4.00).

HIRST, *Adam Smith* [English Men of Letters Series] (The Macmillan Company, 75 cents).

HOBSON, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.50).

HOLLAND, FRANCIS, *Constitutional History of England, 1860–1911* [A continuation of May's *Constitutional History of England*] (Longmans, Green, & Co., $3.50).

HOWARD, *Preliminaries of the Revolution* [American Nation Series] (Harper & Brothers, $2.00).

HUNTER, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples* (Oxford University Press, 90 cents).

JOHNSTON, R. M., *Napoleon* (A. S. Barnes & Company, $1.00).

JOHNSTON, SIR HARRY, *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (The Macmillan Company, $1.50).

JOHNSTON AND SPENCER, *Ireland's Story* (Houghton Mifflin Company, $1.40).

KENDALL, *Source Book of English History* (The Macmillan Company, 80 cents).

KIRKUP, *History of Socialism* (The Macmillan Company, $2.00).

KITCHIN, *History of France*, 3 volumes (Oxford University Press, $2.60 a volume).

LECKY, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 7 volumes (D. Appleton and Company, $7.00).

LEE, *Source Book of English History* (Henry Holt and Company, $2.00).

LEGER, *History of Austria-Hungary* (G. P. Putnam's Sons).

LOWELL, A. L., *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, 2 volumes (Houghton Mifflin Company, $5.00).

LOWELL, A. L., *The Government of England*, 2 volumes (The Macmillan Company, $4.00).

LOWELL, E. J., *The Eve of the French Revolution* (Houghton Mifflin Company, $2.00).

LYALL, *Rise of British Dominion in India* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.50).

LYALL, *Warren Hastings* [English Men of Action Series] (The Macmillan Company, 75 cents).

MATHEWS, *The French Revolution* (Longmans, Green, & Co., $1.25).

MAY, *Constitutional History of England*, 3 volumes (Longmans, Green, & Co., $4.50; new edition, 1912).

MORFILL, *Poland* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, $1.50).

MORLEY, *Diderot and the Encyclopedists*, 2 volumes (The Macmillan Company, $1.50 a volume).

MORLEY, *Rousseau*, 2 volumes (The Macmillan Company, $1.50 a volume).

MORLEY, *Voltaire* (The Macmillan Company, $1.50).

MORLEY, *Walpole* [English Statesmen Series] (The Macmillan Company, 75 cents).

MÜLLER, *Political History of Recent Times* (American Book Company, $2.00).

PERKINS, *France under Louis XV*, 2 volumes (Houghton Mifflin Company, $4.00).

PERKINS, *France under the Regency* (Houghton Mifflin Company, $2.00).

PERKINS, *Richelieu* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, $1.50).

PHILLIPS, *European History, 1815–1899* (The Macmillan Company, $1.50).

RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, 3 volumes (Dana Estes & Company, $6.00).

REINSCH, *Colonial Administration* (The Macmillan Company, $1.25).

REINSCH, *Colonial Government* (The Macmillan Company, $1.25).

REINSCH, *World Politics at End of Nineteenth Century* (The Macmillan Company, $1.25).

ROSE, *Development of Modern European Nations*, 2 volumes (G. P. Putnam's Sons, $4.00).

ROSE, *The Life of Napoleon I*, two volumes in one (The Macmillan Company, $3.00).

ROSE, *Rise of Democracy in England* (Stone, $1.25).

ROSS, E. A., *The Changing Chinese* (The Century Company, $2.40).

SABATIER, PAUL, *Disestablishment in France* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $1.25).

SAMUELSON, *The Civilization of our Day* (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London, 1886).

SAY, *Turgot* [Great French Writers Series] (A. C. McClurg & Co., 75 cents).

SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1814* (Henry Holt and Company, $3.00).

SKRINE, *Expansion of Russia* (The Macmillan Company, $1.50).

SOREL, *Montesquieu* [Great French Writers Series] (A. C. McClurg & Co., 75 cents).

SPARGO, *Socialism* (The Macmillan Company, $1.25).

Statesman's Year-Book, The [1912] (The Macmillan Company, $3.00).

STEPHENS, *European History, 1789–1815* (The Macmillan Company, $1.40).

STEPHENS, *History of the French Revolution*, 2 volumes (Charles Scribner's Sons, $5.00).

STILLMAN, *The Union of Italy* (The Macmillan Company, $1.60).

TERRY, *A History of England* (Scott, Foresman and Company, $2.00).

THURSTON, *A History of the Growth of the Steam Engine* (D. Appleton and Company, $2.50).

THWAITES, *The Colonies* [Epochs of American History Series] (Longmans, Green, & Co., $1.25).

THWAITES, *France in America* [American Nation Series] (Harper & Brothers, $2.00).

TRAILL, *William III* (The Macmillan Company, 75 cents).

TUTTLE, *History of Prussia to the Accession of Frederick the Great*, 4 volumes (Houghton Mifflin Company, Volumes I–III, $2.25 each; Volume IV, $1.50).

TYLER, *England in America* [American Nation Series] (Harper & Brothers, $2.00).

WAKEMAN, *European History, 1598–1715* (The Macmillan Company, $1.40).

WALLACE, A. R., AND OTHERS, *Progress of the Century* (Harper & Brothers, $2.50).

WILSON, *Clive* [English Men of Action Series] (The Macmillan Company, 75 cents).

WOODWARD, *The Expansion of the British Empire* (The Macmillan Company, $1.00).

INDEX

NOTE. Consult Analytical Table of Contents for all leading topics

Absentee landlords, 406 *sqq.*
Abyssinia, 319
Accident insurance, in Germany, 347; in England, 527
Acre, siege of, 179
Act of Union, 408
Adrianople, 460
Afghanistan, 414 note
Africa, 491 *sqq.*
Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of, 238
Albanians, 462
Albert Nyanza, 493
Alexander of Servia, 464
Alexander I, 201, 218, 236, 432 *sqq.*
Alexander II, 436 *sqq.*
Alexander III, 440 *sq.*
Alfonso XII, 332 note
Alfonso XIII, 332 note
Algeciras, 497
Algeria, 377
Alsace, 22, 358
Amadeus, 332 note
Amiens, Treaty of, 188; rupture of, 200
Amoy, 477
Anam, 379
Ancien régime, 87
Anglican Church, 15 *sqq.*, 396; in Ireland, 406 *sq.*
Angra Pequena, 349
Anne, Queen, 48 *sq.*
Anti-clericalism, 369 *sq.*
Apprenticeship, 6
Arbitration, international, 503 *sq.*, 533
Arcole, 174
Arkwright, 263
Artois, count of. See Charles X
Aspern, 215
Assignats, 128, 165, 193
Associations, law, 370
August 4–5, night of, 121
Arangzebe, 76
Ausgleich, 335
Austerlitz, 202
Australasia, 421 *sqq.*
Australia, 421 *sqq.*; commonwealth of, 423
Austria, possessions of, in the eighteenth century, 63; under Maria Theresa, 63 *sqq.*; under Joseph II, 43 *sqq.*; at war with France, 142 *sqq.*, 170 *sqq.*, 186 *sqq.*, 201 *sqq.*, 215, 223; in the Vienna settlement, 230 *sqq.*; and the Revolution of 1848, 296 *sqq.*; and the conflict with Germany, 327 *sqq.*; since 1866, 334 *sqq.*
Austrian Succession, 63 *sqq.*
Austro-Hungarian Union, 335 *sq.*

Baber, 75
Babœuf, 284
Bacon, Francis, 23
Bacon, Roger, 22
Baden, 191, 203, 229, 330, 334
Baker, Sir Samuel, 493
Balaklava, 458
Balkan peninsula, 459 *sqq.*
Baluchistan, 414 note
Baptists, 18
Basel, Treaty of, 171
Bastille, 118 *sq.*
Batavian republic, 171, 185
Bavaria, 191, 203, 229, 330, 334
Beaconsfield. *See* Disraeli
Beauharnais, Madame Josephine, 170
Beccaria, 34
Bechuanaland, 429
Belgium, 228 note, 247 *sq.*, 496 *sq.*
Bengal, 76

Berlin, Congress of, 460, 495
Berlin Decree, 207
Bernadotte, 230
Bessarabia, 455
Bismarck, 325 *sqq.*, 344 *sqq.*
Blanc, Louis, 285 *sqq.*
Bloc, the, 368
Blockade, the Continental, 207 *sqq.*
Blücher, 222, 224
Board of Foreign Missions, 475
Boer War, 428
Boers, 425 *sqq.*
Bohemia, 298 *sqq.*
Bokhara, 442 note
Bonaparte, Jerome, 206
Bonaparte, Joseph, 204, 213
Bonaparte, Louis. *See* Napoleon III
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 168 *sqq.* *See* Napoleon I
Bonapartists, 243
Bordeaux, 293
Borodino, 219
Bosnia, 460, 517
Boulanger, 366
Bourgoyne, 83
Boxer uprising, 486
Braddock, 77
Brandenburg, 58 *sqq.*
Bright, John, 401
Brumaire, the Eighteenth, 180
Brunswick, manifesto of the duke of, 145
Budget, English (1909), 508 *sq.*
Bulgaria, 461, 464, 517
Bülow, Prince, 513 *sq.*
Bundesrath, 340 *sq.*
Burma, 414

Cabinet, 390 *sqq.*
Cahiers, 114
Calendar, reform in the French, 148 note
Calonne, 106, 134
Campo Formio, 175
Canada, 77, 418 *sqq.*
Cape Colony, 425, 429
Capital and labor, 267 *sqq.*
Carbonari, 312
Carlsbad, Resolutions of, 252
Carmagnole, 147
Carnot, 156
Caroline Islands, 500
Cartwright, 264
Catechism, the imperial, in France, 211; in Russia, 436 note
Catharine II, 41 *sqq.*, 67, 69, 152
Catholic Church, 12 *sqq.* *See* Church
Catholic Emancipation, 396
Catholics in England, 16 *sqq.*, 396; in Ireland, 407. *See* Church
Cavour, 313 *sqq.*
Censorship of the press, 14, 395
Chambord, count of, 361
Champs de Mars, 137
Chancellor, the German, 342
Charles I, of England, 45 note
Charles II, of England, 45 note
Charles IV, of Spain, 213 note
Charles VII, Emperor, 64
Charles X, of France, 243 *sqq.*
Charles XII, of Sweden, 57
Charles Albert, of Sardinia, 306
Charles Edward, 45 note
Charter, the French constitutional, 241 *sq.*
Chartism, 386 *sq.*
Chateaux, burning of, 121
Child labor, 399 *sqq.*
China, 476 *sqq.*, 518
Chino-Japanese war, 482 *sq.*
Church, in the eighteenth century, 12 *sqq.*; in Austria, 43, 336; in England, 15 *sqq.*, 396 *sq.*; in France, 253, 396 *sqq.*; in Italy, 318
Churchill, Winston, 509, 526
Cisalpine republic, 175
Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 128
Clergy. *See* Church
Clermont, The, 467
Clive, 77
Cobden, 403
Cochin China, 379
Code Napoleon, 197
Codes of Germany, 343
Commerce, expansion of, 472 *sqq.*
Committee of Public Safety, 153, 157 *sqq.*
Common Prayer, Book of, 15
Commons, House of. *See* Parliament

Commune, 120, 147; of 1871, 360
"Communist Manifesto," 278 *sq.*
Concordat of 1801, 195, 371
Confederation, the German, 249 *sqq.*
Confederation of the Rhine, 203, 222
Congo, Belgian, 495
Congo, French, 378
Congregatio de propaganda fide, 474
Conservatives in England, 508 *sq.*
Constantinople, fall of, 454
Constitution, the Austro-Hungarian, 335 *sq.*; the English, 45 *sqq.*, 381 *sqq.*, 506 *sqq.*; the French, of 1791, 126 *sq.*; of the Year III, 165 *sq.*; of 1814, 241; of 1848, 289; of 1875, 363; the German, 340 *sq.*; the Spanish, 332 note. *See also* Belgium, Greece, and other minor countries
Constitutional democrats, in Russia, 445
Consulate, 180
Continental Blockade, 207 *sqq.*
Convention, the, 148 *sqq.*
Cook, Captain, 422
Cordeliers, 136
Corn laws, 402 *sq.*
Cornwallis, Lord, 83
Corsica, 169
Corvée, 104
Crete, 463 note
Criminal law in England, 397 *sq.*
Croatians (Croats), 298. *See* Austria
Cuba, 500
Customs lines, in France, 90; in Spain, 214; in Germany, 323 *sqq.* *See* Zollverein
Custozza, 306
Czechs, 297. *See* Austria

Dalhousie, 415
Danton, 136 *sq.*, 147, 154, 159, 162
Dauphiny, 112
Declaration of Right, the English, 46
Declaration of the Rights of Man, 122 *sqq.*
Deists, 26
De Launay, 119
Delegations, Austro-Hungarian, 335
De Lesseps, 469
Delhi, 416 *sq.*
Desaix, 187
Desmoulins, 118, 136 *sq.*, 159 *sq.*
Despotism, enlightened, 39 *sqq.*
D'Herbois, Collot, 157
Diderot, 30 *sq.*
Direct action, 528 *sq.*
Directory, 166, 172 *sqq.*, 180
Disarmament, 503
Disraeli, 388. *See* Beaconsfield
Dissenters, 16 *sqq.*, 396 *sq.*
Division of labor, 269
Dogger Bank affair, 489 note
Domestic system, 267
Dowager Empress of China, 487
Dresden, 222
Dreyfus, 366 *sq.*
Dual monarchy, 334 *sqq.*
Duma, 499 *sqq.*
Dumouriez, 143, 149, 152
Dupleix, 77

East India Company, the English, 76 *sqq.*, 417; the French, 76
Eastern Roumelia, 461
Education, in England, 397; in France, 369
Edward VII, 511
Egypt, 498 *sqq.*
Elba, 224
Elders, Council of, 165, 180
Elector, the Great, 59
Embargo act, 209
Emigration, Italian, 321 *sqq.*; Irish, 406
Émigrés, 134, 141, 242
Encyclopædia, the, 30 *sq.*
Engels, 277
Enghien, duke of, 201
England, the Revolution of 1688 in, 46; and the struggle for India, 75 *sqq.*; in the conflict for North America, 77 *sq.*; the Church in, 15 *sqq.*; government of, in the eighteenth century, 45 *sqq.*; at war with France, 151 *sqq.*; Industrial Revolution in, 263 *sqq.*; political reforms in, 381 *sqq.*; social reforms in,

394 *sqq.*; expansion of, in the nineteenth century, 412 *sqq.*; in Egypt, 498 *sqq.*
Established Church, 15 *sqq.*
Estates General, 112

Fabian Society, 507
Factory reform in England, 400
Factory system, 267 *sqq.*
Fashoda, 378
February Revolution, 286
Ferdinand VII, 253
Feudalism, 2 *sqq.*
Finland, 444
Five Hundred, Council of, 165, 180
Fly-shuttle, 263
Fort Duquesne, 77
Fourier, 276
France, in wars of Frederick the Great, 63 *sqq.*; in the contest for India, 75 *sqq.*; in the struggle for North America, 77 *sqq.*; on the eve of the Revolution, 87 *sqq.*; the Revolution in, 108 *sqq.*; the first Republic of, 133 *sqq.*; under Napoleon, 168 *sqq.*; after the Congress of Vienna, 241 *sqq.*; the Industrial Revolution in, 267; the Revolution of 1848 in, 283 *sqq.*; under Napoleon III, 291 *sqq.*; and the war with Prussia, 330 *sqq.*; under the Third Republic, 356 *sqq.*
Francis II, 186, 204, 217
Francis Joseph, 304
Franco-Prussian War, 330 *sqq.*
Frankfort, Treaty of, 358
Frankfort National Assembly, 307 *sq.*
Frederick III, 350 note
Frederick the Great, 39 *sqq.*, 62 *sqq.*
Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, 59
Free trade in England, 402 *sqq.*
French and Indian War, 77
Fuchau, 477
Fulton, 467

Gambetta, 357
Garibaldi, 315 *sq.*
George, David Lloyd, 508 *sq.*
George I, 45 note, 49
George II, 45 note, 49
George III, 45 note, 50, 82
German East Africa, 350
German Southwest Africa, 350
Germany, in 1815, 249 *sqq.*; the Revolution of 1848 in, 296 *sqq.*; formation of the Empire of, 323 *sqq.*; since 1871, 340 *sqq.* *See* Holy Roman Empire and Prussia, Baden, Bavaria, and Würtemberg
Ghent, Peace of, 223 note
Gibraltar, 430
Girondists, 140, 153 *sqq.*
Gladstone, 388 *sq.*
Good Hope, 425 *sq.*
Gordon, Major Charles, 499
Great Britain. *See* England
Great Western, the, 468
Greece, 455 *sq.*, 463
Greek Church, 435
Guam, 500 note
Guilds, 4 *sqq.*
Guillotin, 158 note
Guizot, 285 *sq.*

Haakon VII, 231 note
Habeas Corpus, 47
Hague Conference, 503
Hanover, 205, 328
Hanoverian line, 45 note
Hapsburg. *See* Austria
Hardenberg, 220
Hardie, Keir, 507
Hargreaves, 263
Hébert, 260
Helvetic Republic, 184
Henry V, 361
Herzegovina, 460, 517, 530
Hesse-Cassel, 328
Hindustan, 75 *sq.*
Hohenlinden, 187
Hohenzollern, origin of House of, 59
Holland, 228, 248
Holy Alliance, 236 *sqq.*
Holy Roman Empire, 188 *sqq.*, 203 *sq.*
Home Rule, 408 *sqq.*
Hongkong, 477
Humbert I, 321
Hungary. *See* Austria

Imperialism, 473
Indemnity of French nobles, 244
Independence, Declaration of, 82
Independent Labor party, 507
India, 75 *sqq.*, 412 *sqq.*
Industrial Revolution, 261 *sqq.*
Inquisition, 253
Insurance, for working class, in Germany, 347; in England, 525 *sqq.*; in France, 527
Interpellation, 376
Intolerance, 13 *sqq.*
Ireland, 405 *sqq.*
Isabella, 332 and note
Italy, in the eighteenth century, 172 *sqq.*; after 1815, 253 *sq.*; and the Revolution of 1848, 299 *sqq.*; unity of established, 311 *sqq.*; war with Turkey, 532. *See also* Sardinia, Piedmont, Tuscany, Naples, and Rome

Jacobins, 139 *sqq.*, 162
James II, 45 note
Jameson's raid, 428
Jamestown, 74
Japan, 478 *sqq.*
Jemappes, 150
Jena, 205
Jews, in Poland, 66; in Russia, 445
Joseph II, 43 *sqq.*
Josephine, 170, 216
Jourdan, 156, 172, 175, 185
July monarchy, 283
July ordinances, 244
June days, the terrible, 289

Kamerun, 349, 495
Kapital, Das, 278
Karageorgevitch, 464
Kay, 263
Ketteler, Baron von, 486
Khiva, 442 note
Kiauchau, 483
Kitchener, General, 499
Kokand, 442 note
Königgrätz, 328
Korea, 482, 488, 490 note
Kosciusco, 70
Kossuth, 299
Kotzebue, 251
Kruger, 428
Kulturkampf, 344
Kuropatkin, General, 489

Labor and Capital, 271 *sqq.*
Labor Representation Committee, 507
Lafayette, 83, 131, 156, 245
La Harpe, 149
Laibach, Congress of, 257
Land question, in Ireland, 405 *sqq.*
Laos, 379
Lassalle, Ferdinand, 345
Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, 421
Legion of Honor, 211
Legislative Assembly, 126, 130, 137, 147
Legitimists, 283, 361
Leipzig, battle of, 223
Leo XIII, 369, 524
Leoben, truce of, 175
Leopold of Hohenzollern, 331 *sq.*
Leopold I, of Belgium, 248 note
Leopold II, of Belgium, 248 note, 495
Leopold II, Emperor, 134, 138
Lettres de cachet, 80, 97
Leuthen, battle of, 65
Liberal Unionists, 410
Liberals in England, 508 *sqq.*
Liberum veto, 66
Li Hung Chang, 487
Livingstone, 493
Locke, John, 27 and note
Locomotive, 469 *sq.*
Lombardo-Venetia, 230, 299, 315, 317
Lombardy, 173, 230, 315
Loom, 264
Lords, House of, in England, 393, 511 *sq.*
Lorraine, 333
Louis XV, 85
Louis XVI, 101 *sqq.*, 135 *sqq.*, 150 *sqq.*
Louis XVII, 228 note
Louis XVIII, 231, 241 *sqq.*
Louis Napoleon, 290. *See* Napoleon III
Louis Philippe, 245 *sqq.*, 283 *sqq.*
Lucknow, 416
Lüderitz, 349

Lunéville, Treaty of, 188
Lusitania, 468
Lützen, 222
Luxemburg, grand duchy of, 248 note

Macao, 476
Macedonia, 461
Mack, 202
MacMahon, 361 *sq.*
Madagascar, 378
Madras, 76
Magyars, 298, 304, 337
Mahratta Confederacy, 413
Majuba Hill, 427
Mamelukes, 498
Manchu dynasty, 518 and note
Manchuria, 483, 488, 490
Manor, 2 *sqq.*
Mantua, 173 *sqq.*
Manufacture, modern. *See* Industrial Revolution
Marat, 121 note, 125, 136 *sq.*
Marconi, 472
Marengo, 187
Maria Louisa, 216, 230
Maria Theresa, 62 *sqq.*
Marie Antoinette, 102, 124 *sq.*, 159
Marseillaise, the, 146
Marseilles, 155
Marx, Karl, 277 *sqq.*
Maximilian, 320 note
Maximum, law of the, 165
Mazzini, 312
Meerut, 416
Mehemet Ali, 498
Melikoff, 440
Mercantilism, 36
Methodists, 17
Metternich, 223, 237 *sqq.*, 257, 259, 296
Metz, 333
Mexico, 256, 330 note
Mikado, 478
Milan, 172 *sq.*
Milan I, 463
Milan Decree, 208
Military expenditures, 501 *sq.*
Millerand, 375
Ministerial responsibility, in England, 390 *sqq.*; in Germany, 513
Mirabeau, 117, 125 *sq.*, 136
Missionaries, 473 *sqq.*
Modena, 172, 229, 315
Mogul, the Great, 76, 417
Mohammedans, 491
Moldavia, 457, 460
Monastic orders, in Austria, 43; in France, 127, 370; in Italy, 253; in Spain, 214; in Germany, 344
Moniteur, 139
Monroe Doctrine, 258
Montenegro, 464
Montesquieu, 32
Moreau, 172, 175, 187
Morocco, 497
Mountain, the, 154
Mukden, 489
Murat, 213 note
Mutiny in India, 415 *sq.*
Mutsuhito, 480

Nanking, Treaty of, 477
Naples, 172, 204, 213 note, 254, 257, 316
Napoleon I, 197 *sqq.* *See* Bonaparte, Napoleon
Napoleon II, 243
Napoleon III, 290 *sqq.*, 314, 316, 330, 457
Napoleonic Ideas, 290
Nassau, 329
Natal, 426, 429
National Assembly (1789), 116 *sqq.*
Nationality, spirit of, 235 *sqq.*
Navarino, 457
Navigation Acts, 80
Necker, 106, 118
Nelson, 179, 207
Nepal, 413
Netherlands, Austrian, 149, 228
Netherlands, Dutch, 151, 171, 228, 248
New Brunswick, 419
New Guinea, 350 note
New South Wales, 422
New Zealand, 421, 423 *sq.*
Newfoundland, 420
Nice, 314
Nicholas I, 434 *sq.*
Nicholas II, 443 *sqq.*
Nihilism, 439
Nile, battle of, 179
Nobility, 8 *sqq.*, 93 *sq.*, 121
Nogi, General, 489
Nonjuring clergy, 130, 141

North German Confederation, 327 *sqq.*
Norway, 230 and note
Notables, Assembly of, 108 *sq.*
Nova Scotia, 419
Novara, 306

Obock, 378 note
O'Connell, 409
Oku, General, 488
Old-age pensions, in Germany, 347; in England, 525; in France, 527
Old Sarum, 382
Ontario, 419
Opium war, 477
Orange River Colony, 426 *sqq.*
Organic articles, 196 note
Organization of Labor, The, 285
Orleanists, 361
Ottoman Turks, 454
Owen, Robert, 276

Pale, the, 405
Panama Canal, 468
Pankhurst, Mrs., 521
Papal States, 216, 229, 254
Paris, count of, 361
Paris, siege of, 357
Paris, Treaty of (1763), 65, 78; (1856), 458
Parkes, Sir Harry, 480
Parlement of Paris, 110
Parlements, in France, 98 *sq.*, 111 *sq.*
Parliament, in England, 45 *sqq.*, 381 *sqq.*, 511 *sqq.* *See* Constitution
Parma, 172, 191, 315
Parnell, 408
Parthenopian Republic, 185
Parties, in England, 49, 394, 506 *sqq.*; in France, 374; in Germany, 344, 515; in Russia, 445 *sqq.*
Peace movement, 501 *sqq.*
Peel, Sir Robert, 404
Peking, 486
Penny post, 471
Perry, Commodore, 479
Persia, 518 note
Peter the Great, 55 *sqq.*
Peterloo massacre, 384
Philippines, 500
Pichegru, 171
Piedmont, 185, 229
Pillnitz, Declaration of, 138
Pitt, The Younger, 151
Pius IX, 305, 317
Plassey, battle of, 78
Plehve, 445, 447
Poland, 66 *sqq.*, 232, 435 and note
Political economy, 35 *sqq.*, 273 *sqq.*
Poniatowski, 67
Pope, powers of, 13; position of, in Italy, 317
Port Arthur, 483, 489
Porto Rico, 500
Portsmouth, Treaty of, 490
Portugal, 212, 259, 515
Poverty, 274, 509, 522 *sqq.*
Press, freedom of, in France, 365; in England, 395
Pressburg, Treaty of, 203
Prison reform, 398
Protective tariff in Germany, 348 *sqq.*
Prussia, 58 *sqq.*, 144, 149, 171, 201, 205 *sq.*, 223 *sqq.*, 301 *sqq.*, 307, 317, 323 *sqq.*
Public schools. *See* Education
Pultowa, 57
Punjab, 414
Pyramids, battle of, 179

Quadrilateral, 305
Quadruple alliance, 238
Quakers, 17
Quebec, 419
Quebec Act, 418
Queensland, 423

Railways, 469 *sqq.*
Reason, worship of, 160
Reform Bills, in England, 384 *sqq.*
Reichsdeputationshauptschluss, 190, 229
Reichstadt, duke of, 243 note
Reichstag, 341
Reign of Terror, 148 *sqq.*
Religious toleration in England, 396 *sq.*
Revolutionary Tribunal, 158
Rhodes, Cecil, 428
Rhodesia, 429
Robespierre, 154, 160 *sqq.*
Roland, Madame, 142
Romagna, 315
Roman Republic, 306

Rome, union with Italy, 317
Rossbach, battle of, 65
Rotten boroughs, 381 *sqq.*
Roumania, 460 note
Roumelia, Eastern, 461
Rousseau, 33 *sq.*
Russell, Lord John, 384, 388
Russia, made a European power under Peter the Great, 53 *sqq.*; and the partition of Poland, 66 *sqq.*; at war with France, 183 *sqq.*; in the Vienna settlement, 231 *sqq.*; in the nineteenth century, 432 *sqq.*; and the Crimean War, 457 *sq.*
Russo-Japanese War, 488 *sqq.*

Sadowa, 328
St. Bernard, Bonaparte's crossing of the, 186
St. Helena, 225
Saint-Just, 154, 160 *sqq.*
St. Petersburg, foundation of, 57
Saint-Simon, 275
Salt tax in France, 91
San Stefano, 460
Sand River Convention, 426
Sans-culottes, 144
Sardinia, 172, 230, 305, 306, 313, 315
Savoy, 314
Saxony, 222, 231, 329, 341 note
Scharnhorst, 221
Schleswig-Holstein, 326 *sqq.*
Schwartzenberg, 304
Sebastopol, 457
Second French Republic, 286 *sqq.*
Sedan, 333
Senegal, 377
Separation law, 372
Sepoys, 415
September massacres, 149
Serfdom, 2 *sqq.*, 121, 221, 436 *sqq.* *See* Feudalism
Servia, 455, 463
Seven Years' War, 64
Shanghai, 477
Shantung peninsula, 483
Shimonoseki, 482
Shogun, 478 *sqq.*
Sicily. *See* Naples
Sickness insurance, in Germany, 347; in England, 527
Sieyès, 113, 116
Silesia, 63 *sq.*
Sindh, 414
Slave trade, 234
Smith, Adam, 269
Sobieski, John, 455
Social Contract, The, 33
Social Democratic Federation, 507
Social democrats, in Germany, 345 *sqq.*; in Russia, 446
Socialism, 275 *sqq.*, 528 *sq.*; in England, 507; in France, 284, 374 *sq.*; in Germany, 344 *sqq.*, 352; in Italy, 320; in Russia, 446
Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 474
Solomon Islands, 350 note
Somaliland, French, 495 note; Italian, 597
Sonderbund, 297 note
South Africa, 425 *sqq.*
South African Union, 429
South Hesse, 334
Spain, 253 *sqq.*, 255 *sqq.*, 331, 500
Spanish-American War, 500
Speech, freedom of, 365, 396
Spinning, 263
Spirit of Laws, The, 32
Stamp Act, 79 *sq.*
Stanley, Henry M., 493 *sq.*
State socialism, 346
Steam engine, 264 *sqq.*
Steamship, 467
Stein, 220
Stephenson, George, 469
Stockach, 185
Stolypin, 451, 519
Strassburg, 356
Sudan, 499
Suez Canal, 468
Suffrage, in Austria, 337; in France, 126, 165, 292, 364; in England, 382 *sqq.*; in Germany, 341. *See* Reform Bills and Constitution
Suvaroff, 185
Sweden, 230 note
Switzerland, 230, 297 note
Sydney, 422
Syllabus of 1864, 368
Syndicalism, 529
Syria, Bonaparte in, 179

Taille, 96, 108 *sq.*
Talleyrand, 190, 198, 231

Tasmania, 422
Telegraphs, 472
Ten-hour bill, 401
Tennis-Court Oath, 116
Terrorism, 439
Test Act, 18
Thermidor, 162
Thiers, 285, 357 *sqq.*
Third Estate, 94, 114
Thirty-Nine Articles, 16
Thugut, 185
Ticonderoga, 77
Tilsit, Treaty of, 106 *sqq.*
Tithes, in France, 122; in Ireland, 407
Togo, Admiral, 489
Togoland, 349
Toleration, Act of, 18
Tonkin, 379
Tories, 389
Torres Vedras, 218
Toulon, 156 *sq.*
Trade boards, 526
Trade laws, 80
Trade unions, 523
Trafalgar, 207
Trans-Siberian railway, 443
Transvaal, 426 *sqq.*
Treaty ports, 477
Tripoli, 319, 532
Tuileries, 125, 144, 146
Tunis, 377
Turgot, 102 *sqq.*
Turkestan, 442 note
Turkey, 454 *sqq.*, 516 *sq.*, 532
Tuscany, 172, 229, 315

Uitlanders, 427
Ulm, 202
Ultra-royalists, 242
United States, 83, 258, 500
Utopian socialists, 275

Valenciennes, 156
Valmy, 149
Varennes, flight to, 135
Vendée, La, 155, 157
Vendémiaire, 166 note
Venetia, 172, 175, 317
Venice. *See* Venetia
Vergniaud, 142, 147
Verona, Congress of, 257
Victor Emmanuel I, 254
Victor Emmanuel II, 306, 319
Victor Emmanuel III, 321
Victoria, Queen, 417
Victoria colony, 424
Victoria Nyanza, 493
Vienna, Congress of, 227 *sqq.*
Voltaire, 27 *sqq.*

Wagram, 331
Wallachia, 457, 460 note
Walpole, 49
War of 1812, 223 note
Warfare, modern, 501
Warsaw, grand duchy of, 206, 232
Wartburg, celebration of, 251
Washington, 83
Waterloo, 224
Watt, 265
Wattignies, 156
Wealth of Nations, The, 269
Weaving, 263 *sqq.*
Weihaiwei, 484
Wellington, 218, 223 *sq.*, 384
Wesley, John, 17
West Australia, 423
Westphalia, kingdom of, 206
Whigs, 49
White flag, 362
Whitney, Eli, 264
Wilhelmina, 248 note
William I, 324
William II, of Germany, 350
William II, of the Netherlands, 248 note
William III, of the Netherlands, 248 note
Windischgrätz, 303
Wolfe, General, 77
Woman suffrage, 520
Woman's rights, 519
Working class, origin of, 271 *sqq.*
Workshops, the national, 285 *sqq.*
Wurmser, 174
Würtemberg, 203, 229, 333

Xavier, 479

Yorck, 222
Yorktown, 83
Young Italy, 312

Zola, 367
Zollverein, 252, 324

ANNOUNCEMENTS

OUTLINES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Columbia University, CHARLES A. BEARD, Columbia University, and JAMES HENRY BREASTED, The University of Chicago

PART I, $1.50 PART II, $1.50

THIS new series of textbooks offers the most noteworthy solution of the present-day high-school history problem yet attempted. With the two volumes of "Outlines of European History" in hand the teacher can cover general European history, beginning with ancient history, satisfactorily in two years, leaving the third year for American history. Moreover, the series is fully in accord with the new spirit in the teaching of history. Emphasis throughout is placed on conditions and institutions rather than on unrelated events, while by devoting Part II to the history of the last two hundred years, the course directs the pupil's attention especially to the problems and developments that are of present-day import. In short, both volumes of "Outlines of European History" are designed primarily to furnish the pupil the needed background for the intelligent interpretation of contemporary events.

The authors' reputation for sound scholarship and historical insight is international, while their style has an incisiveness and an imaginative freshness that make as attractive reading for the high-school pupil as any romance. The success of previous textbooks by the same authors is guaranty of the teachability of these new texts and of their entire fitness at every point for class use.

PART I 728 pages By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON and JAMES HENRY BREASTED

THIS volume covers oriental, classical, and medieval history to the beginning of the eighteenth century, setting forth vividly those fundamental notions most essential to an understanding of subsequent developments. In style, in illustration, in organization, this book sets a new standard of achievement for high-school histories. The abundance and excellence of the illustrations are particularly notable. These, with their detailed legends, form a sort of parallel narrative of immense value to a proper understanding of the text. Several full-page illustrations in color and a number of "pen etchings," designed especially for this volume, add to the artistic excellence.

PART II 555 pages By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON and CHARLES A. BEARD

THIS volume offers an illuminating treatment of European history from the eighteenth century to the present time. It includes the best and most comprehensive treatment of European developments of the first decade of the twentieth century available in any high-school history. The text is a rewriting and condensation for high schools of the authors' two-volume "Development of Modern Europe," the standard college text in the subject.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPE

An Introduction to the Study of Current History

By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Professor of History in Columbia University, and Charles A. Beard, Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University

VOLUME I. The Eighteenth Century: The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Period. 12mo. Cloth. 362 pages. With illustrations and maps. $1.50.

VOLUME II. Europe since the Congress of Vienna. 12mo. Cloth. 448 pages. With illustrations and maps. $1.60.

THESE volumes will meet the demand for a history of recent times which shall explain the social and economic as well as the political development of our own age, and shall also prepare the student to understand the great problems of the world in which he finds himself.

Their aim is to correct the general disregard of recent history, — to enable the student to catch up with his own times so that he may peruse with intelligence the news given in the morning paper.

Much less space is devoted to purely political and military events than has been commonly assigned to them in histories of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the more fundamental economic matters — the Industrial Revolution, commerce and the colonies, the internal reforms of the European states, etc. — have been generously treated.

The necessarily succinct outline of events which fills the books can be considerably amplified and enlivened by "Readings in Modern European History" from the same authors, which follows the narrative chapter by chapter, and furnishes examples of the stuff of which history is made.

GINN & COMPANY PUBLISHERS

READINGS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A collection of extracts from sources chosen with the purpose of illustrating some of the chief phases of the development of Europe during the last two hundred years

By James Harvey Robinson, Professor of History, and Charles A. Beard, Adjunct Professor of Politics, in Columbia University

Volume I. The Eighteenth Century: The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Period. 12mo, cloth, illustrated, 410 pages, $1.40

Volume II. Europe since the Congress of Vienna. 12mo, cloth, illustrated, 448 pages, $1.50

"READINGS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY" aims to stimulate the student to real thought and interest in his work by bringing him right to the sources of historical knowledge and enabling him to see the very words of those who, writing when the past was present, can carry him back to themselves and make their times his own. In this way the book offers the proper background and atmosphere for "The Development of Modern Europe," by the same authors, which it accompanies chapter by chapter and section by section.

Bibliographies provided in the Appendix start the student on the path to a really thorough study of the field.

A goodly number of the readings in this volume are of the constitutional kind which merit and richly reward careful study. A still larger number are of the interesting and lively kind which charm and entertain, and which are valuable because they give the flavor of the olden times. The bibliography is no mere list of unappreciated titles, but an excellent critical classification which guides the student quickly on to the fundamental works. — Sidney B. Fay, *Assistant Professor of History, Dartmouth College*, in *The American Historical Review*.

GINN AND COMPANY Publishers

AMERICAN HISTORY

By David Saville Muzzey
Barnard College, Columbia University, New York

12mo, cloth, 662 pages, illustrated, $1.50

THE object of this book is to present a lively and continuous narrative of the political development of our country, by a clear statement of the social and economic problems which have determined that development. These problems are treated topically, and the temptation merely to mention or allude to a vast number of facts not vitally connected with them has been resolutely resisted. Details such as the circumstances attending each colonial plantation, the tactics and casualties of military campaigns, the careers of men of slight influence in high office, have been excluded in order that the topics of first-rate importance in our history might receive a clear and ample treatment.

Special features of the book are its vivid literary style, its development of each topic regardless of such artificial chronological categories as presidential administrations, its full discussion of the federal power in connection with the Constitution, its emphasis on the westward-moving frontier as the most constant and potent force in our history, and its recognition of the influence of economic factors on our sectional rivalries and political theories. Over one third of the text is devoted to the political and economic history of the United States since the Civil War. The book is designed especially for the upper grades of the high school.

GINN AND COMPANY Publishers

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
3 1254 00425 9434
LUIS